THE

LIFE & DEATH

OF

THAT RENOWNED

JOHN FISHER

Bishop of Rochester:

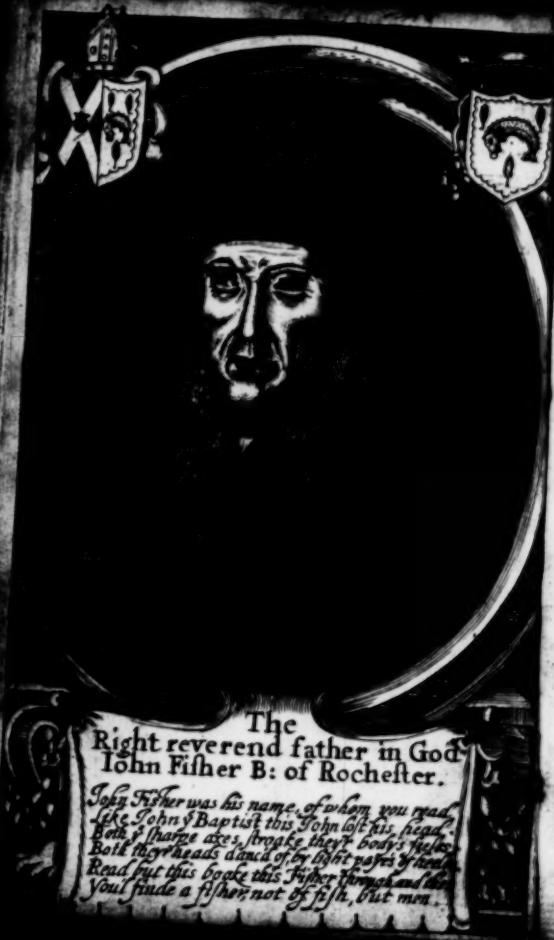
Comprising the highest and hidden Transactions of Church and State, in the reign of King *Henry* the 8th; with divers Morall, Historicall, and Politicall Animadversions upon Cardinall *Wolsey*, Sir *Thomas Moor*, *Martin Luther*, with a full relation of Qu: *Katharines* Divorce.

Carefully selected from severall ancient Records, by

THO: BAILY, *D. D.*

Vivit post funera virtus.

LONDON,
Printed in the yeare, 1655.


The
Right reverend father in God
Iohn Fisher B: of Rochester.
John Fisher was his name, of whom you read,
Like John ye Baptist this John lost his head.
Both ye sharpe axes, strooke theyr body's fiests,
Both theyr heads dance of, by light payes of heads.
Read but this booke this Fisher through and the
You'l finde a fisher, not of fish, but men.

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To my honoured Kinſman Mr. *John Queſtall*, Merchant in *Antwerp*.

SIR,

THere are but three reaſons inducing an Author to dedicate his Book to any one man, rather than to another: The firſt is the patronage of his Work, under the ſhelter of ſome o're-ſpreading tree, whoſe armes may happily receive the ſuppliant under his protection, and defend it from the ſtormes of perſecution. The ſecond is a willingneſſe in the Author, to expreſſe a Gratitude by Dedication, by reaſon of ſome former Courteſies received. And the third is a fitneſſe in the perſon to whom he dedicates his book, whereby his dedication may become ſuitable to ſuch a Patronage.

The first I never affected, as never believing that the estimation of any Patron could be of sufficient authority to dignifie the patronage, if it had not that within it selfe to make it acceptable, according to that expression of the Father of the English Poets, viz. I never knew that a Generalls Oration could make an Army either stand or fall, but look how much habituall valour each man hath in himselfe, so much in act it shews.

The second I always loved, viz. *to be gratefull to my friends, and where such love and gratitude cannot otherwise goe or stand upon their owne legs on any ground, they shall both creep on paper; wherefore, most worthy Cousin, having received so great a benefit (at your hands beyond the Seas) as in my low condition, not onely at once to relieve the Father in his necessity, but also to adde so bountifull a hand in the bringing up of that child, which by your spectall charity is now able to live of it selfe, to you onely do I dedicate this book as an acknowledgement of all your loving kindnesses.* Nor

Nor is the dedication of the History (of this renowned Bishop and Cardinall elect) to your selfe altogether improper for you, being a Merchant your selfe, he being a Merchants Son, whereby it may appeare, that men of your profession do not altogether bring home, together with your Gold, from Ophir, *Apes, and Peacocks feathers, but sometimes Jewels of Divine verity, and highest estimation. Thus with my prayers to God for you, and your continuance in his Grace and Favour, till you reach his Glory, I take leave to rest,*

Your most faithfull Servant,

and poore Kinsman,

T. B.

The Life and Death of the most renowned John Fiſher, *ſometimes Biſhop of* Rocheſter.

Chap. I.

1. *The Time and Place of his Birth.* 2. *How ſuitable both his Names were with his Condition.* 3. *His compariſon unto* John *the* Baptiſt. 4. *His temperance in Dyet, and retirement of Life.* 5. *His Education and Preferment.* 6. *The Counteſſe of* Richmond *(the Kings Mother) her great deſire of winning him to her ſervice.* 7. *The great good deeds which ſhe performed by his perſwaſion.*

AT the time, when as the Starres of Heaven frowned upon the Nation, to behold Innocence, ſwaying the Scepter of this Land, ſo misbecomingly; in the ſeven and thirtieth year of the Reign of

the most Noble (though unfortunate) King *Henry* the sixt, and in the year, one thousand, five hundred, fifty and nine, after the time, that a Virgin Daughter had produced her Father, and a Creature, her Creator: (when the blessed Vine, sprang from the same Grape it bare, and the root of *Jesse* shot from the Spring) the Divine Providence brought forth under-succour, whose after-growth made it soon known unto the world, how worthily he received the two Names (which both his Christendome and his Parents had bestowed upon him, within the Collegiat Church, and town of *Beverly*, scituate within the Province of *York*, about eight score miles distant (*Northwards*) from the head City of the Nation) *viz.* of *JOHN*, and *FISHER*: of *John*, being so like unto *John* the Baptist, who was twice baptized: First, with Water, Secondly, with Blood: as by the first, he was named *John*; so by the second, he deserved to be stiled *John* the Baptist: having so fitly sympathized with the fore-runner of his Saviour, by his following Christ; that *as* like unto the *others* head, became both Fountaine, and their senseless Trunkes, streamers of Blood, whiles the Spectators eyes, became Rivers of Water.

The first, his Head was beg'd of King *Herod*,

Herod, at a banquet of Wine, by a Pfaltreſſe, or woman dancer: by the like light paire of heels, the ſecond *John* (of whom we treat) his head was beg'd of King *Henry*, whilſt he was banquetting, and making merry at his houſe of *Hanworth*.

The firſt was beheaded on the Birth day of King *Herod*, the ſecond was beheaded on the Birth day of King *Henry*, having that very day, compleated the juſt age, of five and forty yeares.

And as the Holy finger of Saint *John* the Baptiſt (which pointed to the Lambe, when he ſaid, *Ecce Agnus Dei*) was miraculouſly preſerved from corruption, for a long ſpace of time, after his martyrdome, ſo the head of this moſt bleſſed Martyr, wherewith he ſo defcended (and that ſo manfully) the holy Catholick Church, and Head of his Mother, was by the like miracle preſerved from corruption a long time (after it was ſtuck up upon the Bridge of *London*) with a freſh and lively colour, untill ſuch time as by commandement from the King, it was taken downe, and conveyed away from the ſight of Men. The firſt, made a Wilderneſſe his habitation; The ſecond, turned his Palace into a Wilderneſſe, and place of ſolitude; ſo Auſtereſly curbing his wanton appetite,

with the moſt ſpare and Leſſian dyet, as that he made his Refection to be his Locuſts: and ſo cooling his infrequent Pleaſures with *ſighs*, and *ſawcing* them with ſo many *Tears*, as that he made the ſelfe-ſame bitter ſweetings, his wilde Honey, the firſt wearing only a Girdle, but the ſecond continually a Shirt of courſer haire. Only in this they may ſeem to differ in their agreement, the one diligently preached the coming of Chriſt to be at hand, giving notice of Salvation to all that would believe, and be Baptized: the other as diligently (by his continuall Preaching and Writings) giving warning to all his Country-men of Chriſts departure from their coaſts, (if like the *Gergeſites*, they preferred their owne ſwine before Salvation.)

Thus did the two *Cherubims* over the Mercy-ſeat, which ſeemed oppoſite to one another, yet both of them mutually beholding the ſame Arke, that ſtood between them. Theſe two with contrary faces, mutually beheld the ſame object, to which that was but a perſpective.

Both theſe dyed for a cauſe of Matrimony, the firſt, for ſaying to King *Herod*, *It is not lawfull for thee to take thy Brothers Wife*: The ſecond, for ſaying to King *Henry*, *it is not lawfull for thee to put away thy Brothers Wife*.

Obj.

Obj. *How shall we reconcile these two assertions, and make both them and their assertion good and lawfull?*

Sol. Herod, to whom the first so spake and reprehended, had taken to his Bed, his Brothers Wife, his Brother living, which was repugnant to the Law of God: but *Henry*, to whom the second spake, as is before rehearsed, onely took to Wife his Brothers Wife, his Brother being dead, having neither issue by, nor knowledge of her; which by *Moses* Law, in such like cases, is not forbidden, and therefore easily dispensed with, according to the rules of Ecclesiasticall authority. And

If this be sufficient to shew you how deservedly the name of *John*, was bestowed upon the subject of our story at his Christendome, the remainder of the History will let you see, how worthily he deserved also to be called *Fisher*; being indeed (as indeed he was) a true *Fisher of Men*, as after shall appeare.

His Fathers name was *Robert Fisher*, his State sufficient, his Reputation among the best, his Condition a Merchant, the place of his abode, within the foresaid Town of *Beverly*; a place, where the blessed and glorious Confessour, St. *John* of *Beverley*, Archbishop

of *Yorke*, sometimes lived, and Preached the Gospel: These we may suppose to be the causes why the Father gave unto this Son that name as a Looking-glasse unto his eye, a Spur unto his Feet, & as Copy for his Hand; a consideration too much neglected in these our dayes, as if our names were only given us for distinction sake, or civill use, and not as obligations unto Christian piety.

This *Robert Fisher*, after he had lived many yeares, in good estimation and credit amongst his neighbours, dyed, leaving behinde him this *John Fisher* (of whom we treat) and a yonger Sonne (who bare his Fathers name) both in their tender age.

Their Mothers name was *Anne*, who in processe of time, marryed one *Wright* by name, by whom she had three Sonnes, *John*, *Thomas*, and *Richard*, and one Daughter, which was called *Elizabeth*, which afterwards was a professed *Nunne* in *Dartford*; and yet these *three* Sonnes, together with a Husband that was living, no way stood between her, and the Piety which she owed unto the dead, as that she any way neglected the former two, but gave them the best education (as the expences of those Legacies, which the deceased Parent had provided for them in that behalfe) that could be had; in order whereunto,

unto, as soon as ever they were capable of Learning, they were put to School, and committed to the care and custody of a Priest, of the said Colledg Church of *Beverly* (being a Church which of antient time hath been richly endowed with Land and possessions) there this *John Fisher*, among other children, was first taught his Letters, and the rudiments of Grammer; where he continued not many yeares, but the bladeing of the Field, soon informed the labouring Husbandman, of the gratefulnesse of the Earth, to which he had committed (with so liberall a hand) so great a trust, which appearing daily more and more, the counsell of his friends at last, thought it fitting to humour, so much as in them lay, the Genius of so promising a proficient; insomuch, that like a tender sappling, fitted for transplantation, he was taken from his nursery to be disposed of, in so faire a garden of the Muses, as was so antient and so flourishing an *University*, as is that *Alma mater*, which is called *Cantabrigia*, where he was committed to the government of one M^r. *William Melton*, a reverend Priest, and grave Divine, afterwards, Master of the Colledge (called *Michael* house in *Cambridge*) and Doctor in Divinity. Under whom, he so profited in few yeares, that he became

Maſter of all the Arts, before ſuch time as he had received the degree of Batchelour, which he received in the yeare of our Lord, 1488. and his degree of Maſter, the third year following: where being ſuddenly elected *Fellow* of that houſe, he was as ſhortly after choſen *Proctour* of the Univerſity: in which ſpace of time, according to the antient Laws and Statutes of his Colledge, he took upon him the holy order of *Prieſthood*, and now did the Almond tree begin to bud; all other Arts and Sciences were but his tooles, but this his occupation: and no wonder it was, that he that went through with his Philoſophy ſo heavenly, ſhould be ſo excellent at the *heavenly Philoſophy*; inſomuch, that his Diſputations in Divinity (according to the order of the Schools) were rather Determinations than Diſputes; ſo that in ſhort ſpace, he grew to ſuch profoundneſſe in thoſe heavenly Myſteries, that Envy her ſelfe, left canvaſing for Palmes, whiles Vertue (her companion) accounted him the flour of all the Univerſity, who in his due time, proceeded to the degrees of Batchelour, and afterwards of Doctor in Divinity: which with no ſmall applauſe he atchieved, in the year of our redemption, 1501.

In which interim, it hapned that Doctor

Melton

Melton (of whom we before have made ſome mention) was preferred to the dignity of Chancellour of the Cathedrall Church of *Yorke*; whereby the maſterſhip of *Michael* Houſe in *Cambridge* became void: Whereunto, by a moſt free and willing election of all the Fellowes of that houſe, this man (as the moſt deſerving of all other) was worthily promoted, who by his acceptance, made the proverb good, *Magiſtratus arguit virum*, for who more fit to play the Maſter, than he that knew ſo well, how to act the Diſciple? in which office, he demeaned himſelfe ſo worthily, that (as a mirrour from whence all Governours of other Houſes might well take their patterne or reſemblance) for his worths ſake, he was ſoon after choſen *Vice-chancellour*: Which office, as if one yeare had not grac'd (ſufficiently) ſo great a worthineſſe, he was continued in the ſame office for another yeare; and had not his Fame (paſſing the bounds of the Univerſity) ſpread it ſelf ſo far over the whole Realm, as that (at length) it reached the eares of the moſt Noble and Vertuous Lady *Margaret*, Counteſſe of *Richmond*, Mother to the wiſe and ſage Prince, *Hen.* 7. (who hearing of his great Vertue and Learning, never ceaſed till ſhe had wrought him to her ſervice) he might

might have been (where he was twice together) perpetuall *dictator:* who afterwards, mounted the high capitoll of Chancellour-ſhip of that Univerſity, a dignity, which is able to adorne the brighteſt Purple.

But now Vicechancellour-ſhip, Maſter-ſhip, and all, muſt be laid downe as at her feet, who with her knees, requites the courteſie, whiles ſhe kneels unto him as her Ghoſtly Father. Remaining in which office, he behaved himſelfe ſo temperately, and diſcreetly, that both the Counteſſe, and her whole Family, were altogether governed and directed, by his high wiſdome and diſcretion. Having by theſe opportunities lodg'd much Divinity within his Miſtris Soule, and the Divine himſelfe within her heart, he makes it ſoon known unto the world, what love it was, wherewith he proſecuted ſo faire an opportunity, *viz.* to make his Miſtreſſe, a moſt glorious *Queen in Heaven,* and himſelfe acceptable in doing good, improving all that opportunity, not to the advantaging of himſelfe in worldly honour, but to the inclination of his Miſtreſſe minde to workes of Mercy; and finding in her owne naturall diſpoſition; a liberality and bountifulneſſe to all ſorts of people, his worke was onely to adviſe her, that that bounty ſhould not runne a courſe,

where

where it might be ſure to loſe its due reward; but that it might b.ſtow it ſelfe in deeds of Almes, as to the poor; in redemption of Captives, in marrying poor and diſtreſſed Virgins, reparation of Bridges, and Highwayes; in many ſuch deeds of Charity he implored her (who eaſily was won thereto) to imploy ſo large a Talent as God had given her, that ſhe might resp plentifully, by ſowing much.

Nor did he ſuffer her to reſt thus ſatisfied with the diſtribution of ſuch doles of bread, and worldly food, but at his perſwaſion alſo, ſhe erected two noble and goodly Colledges in *Cambridge*, to the glory of God, and benefit of his Church: The one whereof ſhe dedicated to Chriſt our Saviour, and called it *Chriſts Colledge*, largely endowing the ſame with ſtore of maintenance, for all manner of Learning whatſoever; this Colledge, ſhe in her life time beheld built and finiſhed of Stone and Brick, as it now ſtandeth. The other ſhe dedicated to Saint *John* the Evangeliſt; endowing it with like proportion of maintenance, to the ſame intent and purpoſe, but ſhe lived not to ſee this Colledge finiſhed; but it was compleated after her death, by this good Man, at his owne coſt and charges,

as

as hereafter ſhall bee declared.

Alſo, upon his motion, ſhe ordained a Divinity Lecture in *Cambridge*, and another in *Oxford*, to be openly read in the Schools, for the benefit of ſuch, as ſhould be Preachers, to the intent, that the darke and hard places of Scripture, might be opened and expounded; in maintenance whereof, ſhe gave good ſtore of Land, to be diſpoſed, as ſtipends to the Readers, and that for ever. What good cannot ſuch a Man doe, who held ſuch keyes within his hand, ſuch a Lady at his feet?

CHAP.

Chap. II.

1. *His preferment to the Bishoprick of* Rochester. 2. *His contentednesse with that small Diocesse.* 3. *His promotion to the high Chancellorship of* Cambridge. 4. *His care and vigilance in that office.* 5. *His opposing of* Martin Luther. 6. *His excommunicating of* Peter de Valence, *and his tenderheartednesse therein.* 7. *His election to the Master-ship of Queens Colledge.*

THese proceedings of his, (together with many other performances of deeds of Charity procured from others, whereof not any one was ever performed, whereunto (according to his ability) he did not set his helping hand, together with his daily Preaching to the people with most carefull diligence) gained him so much love and reverence from all sorts of people, especially from the Bishops, and all the Clergy in generall, that that most worthy and grave Prelate Bishop *Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester* (a man in no small authority and estimation with King *Henry* the 7. of whose Councell he was) never

never left so commending of him to the King upon all occasions (as he saw his time convenient) for his virtuous life, and perfect sanctity, untill such time as (by the death of *William Barons*, Bishop of *London*, *Richard Fitz James*, Bishop of *Rochester*, being translated unto that See, the Bishoprick of *Rochester*, became void) he found his opportunity to present this Doctor *Fisher*, as a fit and worthy Pastor for that Cure, (nor was it otherwise possible but that so great a glory about the Moon should borrow (though but by reflection) some small lustre from the Sun) whereupon the King directed his Letters to the Chapiter of the Church of *Rochester*, to the intent they should elect the nominate within his Letter, for their Bishop; whereunto (without any the least contradiction or negative voice) they all most willingly assented, which act of theirs, was shortly afterwards confirmed by the See Apostolick, by *Julius* the second, Pope at that time, in the Month of *October*, in the year of our redemption, 1504. and of his age, 45.

This sodaine and unexpected promotion of this holy Man (in regard he never had been formerly advanced to any other dignity of the Church) caused some to suspect, and deem it, as a thing that was purchased (either by

by his Miſtreſſe purſe or favour) from the King, her Sonne, which when it was told unto the King, his Majeſty replyed, *Indeed the modeſty of the Man, together with my Mothers ſilence ſpake in his behalfe*, Solemnly proteſting, that his Mother never ſo much as opened her mouth for him in that particular. And openly affirming, that the pure Devotion, perfect Sanctity, and great Learning, which he had obſerved, and often heard to be in the Man, were the onely advocates that pleaded for him, the truth whereof may be gathered out of the very Statutes of S. *Johns* Colledge in Cambridge, where he took occaſion to praiſe (much to the honour of) the King, at whoſe hands ſo *frankly* and ſo *freely*, he received this Donation. The like mention he makes of the Kings bounty, and liberality towards him, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, before the book which he wrote againſt *Oecolampadius*, where he makes mention of the King, as his chiefeſt, and beſt friend and patron.

So farre was this good man from making any meanes by friends, to be a Biſhop, that all the friends he had could ſcarce perſwade him to accept the Office, after that it was granted to him: Which modeſty of his, was

very

very much confirmed by the sequell of his deeds; for at one time after another, being offered the two great Bishopricks of *Lincolne* and *Ely*, he refused both; and from the hands of *Hen.* 8. but we may behold him in the foresaid Epistle Dedicatory, not only satisfying, but enjoying himselfe with his little flock, where his words have this beginning. *Habeant alii proventus pinguiores, &c. Others have larger Pastures, but I have lesser charge of Soules, so that when I shall be called to an accounnt for both, I shall be the better able to give an account of either.* Not making so high and heavenly an office, a stair-case, whereby we climb unto preferment. But so small a Bishoprick, a competent height, whereby he might so over-look the plaines that were under him, that (in the end) with too large a prospect, he did not lose his owne eyes.

Thus being mounted in the Kings favour, there will not be wanting those, who will be ready to say concerning such a one, *thus shall it be done to the Man whom the King honours*; and accordingly, the University of *Cambridge* (considering with themselves what benefit they had received already, at his hand, and what future benefit they might receive) with a gratefull and prudent minde,

and

and forecast, unanimously chose, and ordained him their high Chancellour; a Magistracy that hath no lesse authority and jurisdiction (thereunto belonging) than of an Arch-Bishop, in causes Spirituall; and of a high Judge, in causes that are Temporall.

Hitherto we have traced him to his Bishoprick, and high dignity of Chancellorship, of the most renowned University of *Cambridge*; how he behaved himselfe in both these places, we shall leave the mentioning of those particulars, to the *post funera* of this History, as most proper for them; onely it shall suffice for the present, that his whole life seemed to the world to be no otherwise, than as if he had used the Church, at if it had been his Cloister: and his Study, as his Cell: Governing his Family with such Temperance, Chastity, and Devotion, as if his Palace, for continency, had been a Monastery, and for Learning an University.

In the yeare of our Redemption, 1509. it happened that the most wise, and fortunate King, *Hen.* 7. departed this life, upon the twentieth day of *May*, being upon a Sunday, whereupon he had the opportunity to performe two acceptable and good Offices, and, both of them deeds of Charity: whereby, he gained unto himselfe great applause, and

commendation: the one, in comforting the sorrowfull Mother of the King, his Mistresse, who seemed to be overwhelmed with griefe, who received great contentment in his consolations. The other, in edifying the people by his Sermon, which he preached at the Funerall solemnity of the Kings buriall, exhorting them to the imitation of those noble, and virtuous actions, which they saw to have raigned more over his Passions, than himselfe had exercised authority over his Subjects; powring into every eare, an antidote against the feare of Death, and a preservative unto eternall Life.

About the yeare, 1567. at the time when this worthy Bishop of *Rochester*, had governed his See 12 yeares, *Luther* began in *Germany*, to set up his new-found Doctrine, then (as himselfe reports) unknown to the world. But the Divine Providence, who never suffered an *Athanasius*, a *Liberius*, or an *Hillary* to be wanting, where there was an *Arius* risen up to rend, and teare the undefiled spouse of Christ (his Church) in pieces: nor a *Damasus*, *Gregorius*, *Basilius*, or a *Nazianzen*, where there was a *Macedonius*. Nor a *Celestin*, or a *Cyrill*, where there was a *Nestorius*: nor a *Leo*, where there was an *Eutyches*. Nor an *Irenæus*, where

where there was a *Valentine*: nor a *Tertullian*, where there was a *Martian*: nor an *Origen*, where there was a *Celsus*; nor a *Cyprian*, where there was a *Novatus*, nor a *Jerome*, where there were *Helvidians*, *Jovinians*, *Vigilantians*, and *Luciferians*: nor an *Austin*, where there was a *Donatus*, or a *Pellagius*, did not suffer such a Leviathan to roule about, and beat the sides of that Ship, into which Christ entred, out of which he taught; and of which, S. *Peter* was the onely Master, but that there should be still a *Fisher*, to oppose and wound the Monster with such harping irons, as that this Kingdome never was much troubled with his Doctrines, whiles this good Bishop lived; nor ever could have had its entrance, till the others *Exit* brought it in. For,

Hearing how that severall of *Luther's* Bookes, and Writings, were brought over by Merchants (whose profession, though it deserves to be ranked among the best of Educations, yet, like *Solomons* Merchants, they sometimes bring home (together with their Gold from *Ophir*) Apes, and Peacocks Feathers) and dispersed among the people (too apt to entertaine any new fashion, of their Soules, as well as of their Bodies) and how the people swallowed downe the novelty,

that was so taudred with pretences: like unto some Generall (who hearing of the approach and march of an enemy) hasts to his army: with no lesse a cause of vigilancy did so great a Champion of the Church hasten to so great a charge, the University, of which he was their Chancelour, that he might take an account in what condition the main body of all Learning stood, whereby ability might be drawn up in the safest posture to defend the Faith. But,

No sooner was he come amongst them, but he might perceive tares to be already sprung in so faire a Seminary, where so much good seed was sown. For

About the same time, it fell out that Pope *Leo* the 10. had granted forth a generall and free pardon (commonly called indulgences) according to the ancient custome and tradition of the Catholique Church, to all Christian people (that were contrite) through all the Provinces of Christendome, which is no otherwise than an application (by that Ministry) of the superabundant merits of our blessed Saviour (who shed so many, when the least one drop of his most precious blood was able to have redeemed a thousand worlds) to the soules of true Believers. This *Luther* formerly having written against, and the Bi-

shop

ſhop, and Chancelour of the Univerſity, being carefull the Students there as well as others, ſtanding in need of ſuch a remedy, might be partakers of the heavenly bounty, and cauſing certain copies of thoſe Pardons to be ſet up in ſundry places of the Univerſity (one whereof was fixed upon the Schoole gate) A man without a name came ſecretly in the night time, and wrote over the Pardon, which was there fixed, theſe word, *Beatus vir cujus eſt nomen Domini ſpes ejus, & non reſpexit vanitates & inſanias falſas* (*iſtas*) thinking the word (*iſtas*) which he had added would have brought the Pope and all his Clergy within the premunire of the Statute of Gods Word, for ſetting up that Pardon, whileſt he forgot the ſeverall punſhments, which are threatned by the ſame Word, to all thoſe who ſhall adde or diminiſh to the book of Life.

In the morning, the ſchoole doores being opened, and the Schollers reſorting thither according to their wonted manner, and beholding this ſtrange ſpectacle, there needed no Shiboleth to diſtinguiſh, Catholiques were much offended at ſo great an abuſe of holy Scripture: others approved the fact, and thought it a fine thing, as they were ſeverally addicted.

The Chancellour having notice hereof, was ſtruck with horrour at the no leſſe boldneſſe, than wickedneſſe of the fact, whereupon he endeavoured to finde out the party, by the knowledge of his hand, but that in vaine; then he call'd a Convocation, where he declared unto them, for what cauſe they were conven'd; layes before them the foulenеſſe of the deed, interprets the true meaning of the abuſed places of Scripture: explicates the true and wholſome meaning of the words, pardons and indulgence, juſtifies the holy uſe thereof, acquaints them with the great diſpleaſure that might juſtly enſue, at the hands both of Almighty, and of the Kings, if ſo wicked a fact ſhould paſſe unpuniſhed; tells how great a diſcredit it would be to the Univerſity, that never had ſuch a ſpot upon her breaſt before; and at length, moved the Author (though unknown) to repentance, and confeſſion of his ſinne, that he might be forgiven; which if he would performe within a time prefixed, he aſſured him in Gods name; but if the contrary, ſuch remedy ſhould proceed againſt him, as is (provided in ſuch like caſes) in Gods holy Church, by Chriſt himſelfe, *viz.* to be cut off (like rotten Members) from the Body of Chriſts Church, by the cenſure of Excommunication,

munication; which not being performed at the time prefixed (on the delinquents part) he called another Convocation (where there was a great Assembly) and fearing the infection of others, by the obstinacy of one, he betook him to his last remedy, and taking the Bill of Excommunication in his hand, he began to read it; but when the words began to sit heavy upon his tongue (according to the weight of the sentence) the fire of Love (as if within some Limbeck, or beneath a *Balneo Mariæ*) kindling within his breast, sent such a stream up into his minde, as suddenly distilled into his eyes, which like an overflowing-viol reverberates the stream back againe to the heart, till the heart surcharged, sends these purer spirits of compassion out at his mouth, which could onely say, that he could read no further. Good God! into what compassion did the mildnesse of such a nature strike the beholders, who were all of them by this time mollified into the same affection? insomuch that they all left off without any further proceedings in the Excommunication for that time.

Nevertheless a third day being appointed for the same purpose, & time having brought on the day, there was a great multitude of people, where the Chancellour with a heavy

countenance, declared, how that no tidings could be heard, either of the person, or his Repentance; wherefore now (seeing there was no other remedy) he thought it necessary and expedient to proceed, and so arming himselfe with a severe gravity, as well as he could, he pronounced the terrible Sentence from the beginning to the end, which being done with a kinde of passionate compassion, he threw the Bill unto the ground, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, sate downe and wept: Which gesture, and manner of behaviour, both of his minde and body, struck such a fear into the hearts of all his hearers, and spectators, that many of them were afraid the ground would have opened to have swallowed up the man, but that they hop'd he was not there. But did all these teares fall to the ground? were none of them bottled up, whereby they might become the wine of Angells? Certainly men may repent, as well as weep by proxie: Teares have their voices in the Parliament with God; and the same God that washeth us so clean with the Laver of Regeneration, by the Faiths of others, may (by the prerogative of his mercy) call us for the repentance sake of other men. For,

So it appeared by this Delinquent, who having not the grace as yet bestowed upon him,

him, of repentance, so many repenting for him, he became repentant. For

Not long after, this miserable wretch (it seemes, being taken notice of by the alteration of his countenance, and other changes in the disposition of his minde, whether he was there in presence, or had onely heard with what solemnity so terrible a Sentence was pronounced against him to be the man) forsaking the University, his body carried his minde when it found no sanctuary (as he supposed) with the superintended of *Ely*: a man too much taken notice of to be too great a favourer of *Luthers* Doctrine (Dr. *Goodrich* by name) where no lesse the dismall manner of proceeding, than the thing it self, would never out of his minde, where, notwithstanding, he became a domestique servant to the said Dr. *Goodrich*, and had unfolded his mind unto them concerning the premises, yet they never could perswade him otherwise, but that he had most grievously offended Almighty God in that particular; openly detesting the deed, as a thing that was both unadvisedly, and wickedly performed; insomuch that his minde could never be at rest, untill such time, as with his own hands, in the self-same place, where the former sentence was written, he had blotted out his sin, and

that

that together by fixing upon the place this other ſentence, which carried healing in every word, *Delicta juventutis mea & ignorantias ne memineris Domine.* Remember not Lord my ſinnes, nor the ignorances of my youth; ſubſcribing thereunto his name, *Peter de Valence* (who was a Norman by birth, from whence he came to *Cambridge* to be a Student, and remained there till he had committed this fact) whereupon he was abſolved, and became a Prieſt.

There is a great deale of difference in the conſideration, which Catholiques doe uſe when they pronounce this terrible ſentence, over that which the Lay-chancellours had with us, when they excommunicated for every threepenny matter, which was the reaſon that in the end the people made not a threepenny matter of their Excommunications.

Thus imploying his time, ſo needfully required, in healing the ſore Breſt of ſuch a Nurſe, it happened, that in the year 1505. *Tho: Wilkinſon*, Dr. in Divinity, (who was the ſecond Maſter of Queens Colledge) departed this life, whereby the Maſterſhip of that Colledge became void, and in regard that the Chancellour of the Univerſity had no houſe belonging to him, as he was Chancellour, the Fellowes

lows of that Colledge with unanimous consent, chose him to be their Master, which he thankfully accepted of, whereby he became the third Master of that house, continuing there the space of three yeares and odde moneths.

CHAP. III.

1. *The Recreation of Bishop* Fisher. *The erection of Colledges.* 2. *The Lady* Margaret *dies and leaves him her Executor.* 3. *The high Encomium which he bestowes upon her in his Funerall Sermon, made at the solemnities of her interrement.* 4. *His faithfull behaviour in so great a trust reposed in him.* 5. *His great love unto that Colledge.* 6. *The praiseworthinesse of the University of* Cambridge.

THat this good man sojourned in those parts, during the time he made it his recreation to overlook the work of Christ-Colledge, which was then not finished, which the Lady *Margaret* had endowed with maintenance for one Master, 12. Scholars, Fellowes, and 47. Disciples for ever, to be brought

brought up (as the words of her Will make mention) in Learning, Vertue, and Cunning: the which Colledge she onely lived to see finished, and so took sanctuary in the holy of holies, the celestiall *Jerusalem*; after the dissolution of so faire a Temple of the holy Ghost (as was the Body of so incomparable a Soule) in the yeare of our Lord God, 1519. the third of the Calends of *July*, within the Abbey of S. *Peters* in *Westm.* to the great grief and sorrow of all good people, but to her own eternal happinesse: who before her departure, made her last Will and Testament, wherein (together with other Personages of great quality) she made this holy Bishop (as one in whom she reposed her chiefest trust) one of her Executors:

She was buried with all solemnity, according to the dignity of so great a person, in the Abbey church at *Westminster*: at whose Funerall Sermon, this most excellent Bishop threw these flowers upon her Grave, &c. As concerning her birth, that she was the daughter of *John Duke* of *Somerset*, lineally descended from the most noble Prince, *Edward* the third, King of *England*: As for Quality, that she was a second *Martha*, both for her Hospitality and Nobility; where (together with many other of her great Vertues,

Vertues, and incomparable deeds of Charity; all which he there related, at large, as so many proofs of ſanctity) he had theſe remarkable paſſages concerning her, *viz.* that notwithſtanſtanding ſhe was Princeſſe, who by lineage and affinity, had had thirty Kings and Queens (beſides Dukes, Marqueſſes, and Earles) within the fourth degree of marriage ſupporting her greatneſſe; yet would ſhe often fall ſo low, as to ſearch and dreſſe the wounds and ſores of poore and diſtreſſed people with her own fingers: performing all this for his ſake, who for ours, received ſo many wounds: as alſo when there was an offerture made by divers Princes to warre againſt the common enemy of our Faith, ſhe encouraged them thereunto by often telling them, that upon condition that they would goe, ſhe would alſo goe along with them, and be *their Laundreſſe.*

The Funeralls of this great Lady being ended, and that other Colledge, which ſhe had willed to be dedicated to S. *John* the Evangeliſt, being not yet built, the reſt of her Executors, finding how faithfull the good man had been in his former truſt, by a generall conſent reſigned into his hands (by a publick inſtrument in writing) the whole authority of the diſpoſement of her Legacies: but

behold

behold how worthily the dispensation was conferred upon him; for whereas the Lady *Margaret*, out of her great bounty and liberality, had given to so pious a use a portion of Land for the maintenance of one Master, and fifty Schollers, with all manner of furniture, and Servants requisite to every Office, in manner and forme: This good man did not onely bear a portion in the charge of the same Building, but much augmented the Revenue thereof, with possession of Land, whereby four Fellowships were founded upon his own account, and one Reader of an Hebrew Lecture, and another of Greek, together with four examining Readers, and four under-Readers, to help the Principall; and whereas he observed the price of Victuals began to rise, he gave wherewith (by weekly divident) the Fellows commons might be augmented, bequeathing thereunto his Library of Books (thought to be the best that ever was in *Europe*) after his death; together with all his Plate, Hangings, and other Houshold-stuffe, whatsoever to him belonging by a deed of gift in his life time, under his own hand, and putting the colledge into possession of the same by Indentures, onely borrowing the same back again to his owne use, during his life.

And

And for a perpetuall memory of his hearty good will, and love towards this Colledge; he caused a little Chappell to be built neere unto the high Altar or the great Chappell, where there was a Tombe set of white Marble finely wrought, where he intended to have laid his bones, if God had not so disposed of him otherwise, but he was otherwise disposed of, and (as if) because this Martyrs body was not permitted to be brought among these men', these Fellowes brought their bodies to his Martyrdome; for those famous Martyrs, Mr. *Greenwood*, *Richard Reynolds*, Doctor in Divinity, a professed Monke in *Sion*, of the rule of S. *Bridget*, and Mr. *William Exmew*, a Carthusian, professed in *London*: the first whereof, came out of S. *John's* Colledge, the other two, came forth of *Christs*: all three, suffering death under King *Hen.* 8. in the cause of Supremacy, that they might still be of his foundation, though not of Stone and Mortar, yet of Blood and Fire.

Out of the first of these two Colleges proceeded (likewise) *Ralph Bayn*, Bishop of *Lichfield*; *Thomas Walson*, Bishop of *Lincolne*; *John Christoferson*, also Bishop of *Chichester*; *Thomas Bishop* Elect of *Gloucester*, and before that, Abbot of *Leicester*, all Catholique Bishops.

Out

Out of the second (also) sprang that most Reverend and Grave Doctor, *Nicholas Heath*, Archbishop of *York*; together with divers other Grave and Learned Preachers of the Catholick Faith. And this is to be noted to the honour of that University, that during the space of so many hundred years, as is between the laying of the first Stone in this our *Bethel*: *Cambridge* was never infected with any unsound Doctrine, untill such time as *Regis ad exemplum* brought it in; and *Luther's* Soul, was transmigrated into *Henry* the eighth; who ever after, never spake at a lesser rate, than *Sic volo sic jubeo*; who both of them, since their fall from the Catholick Church, pulled down Reason, and set up Will. And

It is a thing which is most remarkable, that he who goard this University so much (as it is conceived (the more) for this mans sake of whom we treat, and the great love sake which they all bore unto his memory) by his placing and displacing) what men and lawes he pleased, and all to make way for a new Religion, in the end, reconciled himselfe unto the Catholick Faith; as appeares, by his subscribing to the six Articles of the Roman Catholick Religion, which was all the difference that was (then) between the two Churches,

Churches, in matter of Doctrine, as also by the expresse words of his *last Will and Testament.*

So the first uncleane beast that ever passed through the *Oxens-ford* (I meane *Wickliffe* by name) afterwards chewed the cud, and was sufficiently reconciled to the *Romane* Faith, as appeares by his Recantation; Living and Dying conformable to the holy Catholick Church, at his Parsonage of *Litterworth* (as I take it) in *Northampton-shire*: constantly saying Masse unto his dying day. So that Reformation as it seems was left unto the time of which it is said, *Va Regno cui puer dominatur; Woe be to the Kingdome over which a child reignes.*

Chap. IV.

1. *The encreaſe of* Luthers *Doctrine.* 2. *Luthers vigilancy to ſuppreſſe it.* 3. *His intention to goe to* Rome. 4. *The occaſion of his ſtay.* 5. *His brave and worthy Speech in the Synod of Biſhops.*

NOw was the time come, wherein God was determined to make triall of his people; and the ſtorme was not altogether unſeen, to enſue by this good man: for by this time, the people of this Nation had well drank of the intoxications of Prince *Luthers* cup: but when he perceived the better ſort of people to be ſo (like the Nature of Iſlanders) changeable, and deſirous of Novelties, and how *Luthers* Doctrine was now come from private whiſperings, to open proclamations: (whereby all authority, either of Pope or Emperour, King, or Biſhop, or any ſuperiority whatſoever, was much vilified and debaſed, a new way of Salvation found out, a neerer, readier, and cheaper way to Heaven propounded; and liberty of con-

conſcience promiſed to all that were Believers in his Goſpell, all thinking him a brave fellow, and who but *Luther*, that cared neither for Pope, nor Emperour) this holy Prelate began to looke about, and beſtir himſelfe; and queſtionleſſe had out-rid the ſtorme, had not his hand been taken from the ſteerage, and the head-Pilot (when the poor fiſhers head was off) wilfully caſt away the Ship. For,

Hereupon this good Biſhop, firſt acts the part of a good Chancellour, and ſet all right in that Univerſity in generall, eſpecially in thoſe Colledges, whereof he had peculiar juriſdiction: where he took an occaſion to provide in the Statutes, that the Fellows of thoſe Houſes ſhould ſo order their Studies, as that the fourth part of them might be Preachers: ſo that as ſoon as one was gone abroad, another ſhould be ready to ſucceed in his place, that if it were poſſible the young Cubbe might be catch'd at his firſt arrivall.

Then he returned to his paſtorall charge at *Rocheſter*; and there, ſetting his owne Dioceſſe in good order, he fell to Writing, and diligent Preaching, procuring others (whoſe abilities were beſt known unto him) to doe the like; but, perceiving the diſeaſe to

grew desperate, as it had done in *Saxony*, and other parts of *Germany*, and the rest of the Physitians, not so ready to set thereto their helping hands (as the necessity of the cause required) he not onely called for help from the King, but by his perswasions, and at his instance, the King himselfe set upon the head of all those mischiefs, and wrote a book against *Luther*, intituled, *An assertion of the seaven Sacraments against* Martin Luther. So learned, and so worthy a piece, as that thereby he worthily deserved the title of *Defender of the Faith*. Which upon that occasion was given unto him, by *Leo* the tenth, then Pope of *Rome*; which book, was supposed by divers to be written by my Lord of *Rochester*, whereupon he obtained leave from the King, that he might goe to *Rome*, (as it is conceived, to take farther order concerning the settlement of those affaires) and having obtained leave likewise of his Metropolitan, and disposed his houshold, and ready to set forward in that expedition, all was dashed, by reason of a Synod of Bishops (together with a Synod of the whole Cleargy) which was then called by Cardinall *Wolsey*, by reason of his power Legantine, lately conferred on him by the Pope, which stop to his designe, he bare with lesse reluctancy, because

because he hoped that much good to the Church, might happily be wrought thereby; but in the end, perceiving the Synod rather to be made a concourse (whereby to notifie unto the world, the great authority, wherein the Cardinall was invested, and that he might be seen sitting in his Pontificality) than for any great good that was intended, he spake as followeth:

Bishop *Fisher* his Speech in the Synod.

MAY it not seem displeasing to your Eminence, and the rest of those Grave, and Reverend Fathers of the Church, that I speak a few words, which I hope may not be out of season. I had thought that When so many learned men, as substitute for the Clergy, had been drawn into this body, that some good matters should have been propounded for the benefit and good of the Church: that the scandals, that lye so heavy upon her men, and the disease, which takes such hold on those advantages, might have been thereby at once removed, and also remedied; who hath made any the least proposition against the ambition of those men, whose pride is so offensive, whiles their profession is humility? or against the incontinency of such, as have vowed Chastity? how are the goods of the Church

wasted? the Lands, the Tithes, and other Oblations of the devout ancestors of the people (to the great scandall of their posterity) wasted in superfluous, riotous expences? how can we exhort our Flocks to fly the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, when we that are Bishops set our minds on nothing more than that which we forbid? if we should teach according to our doing, how absurdly would our doctrines sound in the eares of those that should heare us? and if we teach one thing, and doe another, who believeth our report? which would seem to them no otherwise than as if we should throw downe with one hand, what we build with the other: we preach Humility, Sobriety, contempt of the World, &c. and the people perceive in the same men that preach this Doctrine, Pride, and Haughtinesse of minde, excesse in Apparrell, and a resignation of our selves to all worldly pomps and vanities: and what is this otherwise than to set the people in a stand, whether they shall follow the sight of their owne eyes, or the beliefe of what they heare. Excuse me reverend Fathers, seeing herein I blame no man more than I doe my self, for sundry times when I have setled my selfe to the care of my Flock, to visite my Diocesse, to governe my Church, to answer the enemies of Christ, suddenly there hath come a message to me from the Court, that I must attend such a triumph,

triumph, receive such an Embassadour, What have we to doe with Princes Courts? if we are in love with Majesty, is there a greater excellence than Whom we serve? if We are in love with stately buildings, are there higher roofes than our Cathedrals? if with Apparell, is there a greater ornament than that of Priesthood? or is there better company than a Communion with the Saints? Truly most reverend Fathers, what this vanity in temporall things may worke in you, I know not; but sure I am, that in my selfe I finde it to be a great impediment to Devotion: Wherefore I think it necessary (and high time it is) that We, that are the heads, should begin to give example to the inferiour Clergy, as to these particulars, whereby We may all the better be conformable to the Image of God, for in this trade of life, which We now leade, neither can there be likelihood of perpetuity (in the same state and condition Wherein We now stand) or safety to the Clergy.

After that he had uttered these and many other such like words to this effect, with such a gravity, as well became him, they all seem'd to be astonished, by their silence, and the Cardinalls state to become him not so well, seeing,

Chap. V.

1. Luther's *rayling againſt the King.* 2. Fiſher *writeth in the Kings behalfe.* 3. *The effect of a Sermon which he preached at S.* Pauls *croſſe.* 4. Oecolampadius *his Doctrine and beginning.* Fiſher *oppoſeth him.* 5. *The King leaveth off all care of Kingly government, gives himſelfe wholly to ſenſuality.* 6. *Laies his whole truſt in the Cardinall.* Wolſey's *Character.* 7. *His ſolicitation for the Biſhoprick of* Toledo, *afterwards for the Papacy, is refuſed both.*

ABout this time it was that *Luther* anſwered the Kings Book, wherein he uſed ſuch ſcurrilous railing, againſt the King, as is not to be mentioned, far beneath the approvement of a ſanctified ſpirit, and the dignity of a ſacred perſon. Whereupon

This Biſhop, (in vindication of the Kings honour, and defence of the truth) writ an Apologie, whereby he rebuked the Authors vilany, and abuſe of a Prince of ſo great dignity: the title of which Book was, *A defence*

of

of the King of England's *assertion of the Catholique Faith against* Martin Luther's *Book of the Captivity of* Babylon; which Book he dedicated to his deare friend, and old acquaintance, Dr. *West*, Bishop of *Ely*.

Shortly afterwards, he writ another book, intituled, *A defence of the holy order of Priesthood, against* Martin Luther.

Upon the *Quinquagesima* Sunday (which was in the yeare of our redemption, 1525.) this holy and most learned Bishop preached a most excellent Sermon at S. *Paul's* Crosse; where Cardinall *Wolsey*, *Legate à latere*, with eleven Bishops & great resort of the Nobility and Gentry, were present, which was performed with such ferveney of faith, zeale to the Catholique Church, and force of arguments (grounded upon Scripture) that one *Robert Barnes*, an *Augustin Friar*, and five more (infected with Lutheranism) were thereby converted and abjured their Errors, and for their Penance stood openly at St. *Paul's* Crosse.

Upon the Octaves of the Ascension, he preached also another most admirable Sermon, in the presence of the Cardinall, and all the Bishops, &c. wherein he shewed himself a most stout and zealous Champion, and Defender of his Faith, taxing no lesse the severall

verall curers of soules, with negligence, than the people with levity.

About this time, arose out of *Luther's* Schoole, one *Oecolampadius*, like a mighty and fierce Giant, who, as his Master had gone beyond the Church, went beyond his Master, (or else it had been impossible he could have been reputed the better Scholler) who denied *the reall presence*; him this worthy Champion sets upon, and with five bookes (like so many smooth stones taken out of the River, that doth always run with living water) slays the Philistine; which five books were written in the year of our Lord, 1526. at which time he had governed the See of *Rochester* twenty years; which books of his, nor any other of his books that he ever writ, were ever answered.

About this time it was that the King left off the Kingly Occupation (as they called it) wherein he had governed this Realme with great wisdome and moderation, whereby he became (as all wise Kings doe aim at) beloved at home, and feared abroad; and addicted himself wholy to sensuall pleasure and delight, leaving the Ministry of his state wholy to the disposition of the Cardinall, who was a man (though but meanly and obscurely borne) yet of an excellent wit, voluble

ble speech, quicknesse of memory, haughtinesse of courage, well bred, sufficiently learned, and one that knew how to behave himself among persons of the greatest rank and quality, and that in businesses of greatest weight and importance: who besides, that he was Arch-bishop of *York*, and Bishop of *Winchester* at the same time, and Abbot of S. *Albans*, and had the Bishopricks of *Bath*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, in Farm (at small rents, the Incumbents being Strangers, and continually living in their owne countries, whereby he might dispose of all presentations and promotions of those Bishopricks as freely as if they had been his own, and was *Legato à Latere* (whereby he might convocate the Clergy at his pleasure) besides what he received from *Italy*, by reason of his dignity of Cardinall) he was also Lord Chancelour of *England*, whereby, in a manner, he formerly ruled all under the King (also) in matters temporall; and to give him his due, he so behaved himselfe in Government, that he won from all wise men great praise for his indifferency to all sorts of people, whether they were rich or poore, onely his fault was, that he governed himself the worst of all, for all this was not sufficient, except he was more, and more was nothing, except he was *most* of all. For

The

The Arch-bishoprick of *Toledo* in *Spaine* being void, he made meanes unto the Emperour, *Charles* the fifth, and to that purpose procured the Kings Letters, whereby that great dignity might be conferred upon him, but the Emperour noting his ambition, would in no wise condescend thereto.

That failing, it happened that Pope *Leo* the tenth died, whereby the Papacy became void: then he bestirred himself exceedingly, together with all his friends, and (besides his own Master the King of *England*) he made means unto the King of *France*, who (upon certain grounds moving him thereto) took great paines in his behalfe, but all was disappointed by the Emperor, who had so wrought with the Conclave of Cardinalls, that they elected Cardinall *Hadrian* (one who formerly had been Tutor to the Emperour) for their Pope, a man of singular and rare Vertue and Learning.

Chap. VI.

1. *The Revenge which the Cardinall took against the Emperour for withstanding his ambitions.* 2. *The Scruple which he put into the Kings head concerning Queen* Katherine: *This Scruple the ruine of the Clergie.* 3. *The King is fallen in love with* Anne Bullein. 4. *Her Character.* 5. *The King resolved to go through-stitch with the Divorce.* 6. *The Kings dealing with* Fisher *in that behalfe,* Fisher's *answer to the King.*

THis lay boyling in the Cardinals stomach so hot, that he never rested till he had set variance between the King his Master, and the Emperour, which he performed, by causing the King to enter into a strict league and amity with the King of *France*, whereby the Emperours occasions were much hindred; and to affront him the more (together with the feare of a blind Prophesie which was told him, *viz. that a woman should be the confusion of him*, and fearing it might be the Queen (*Katherine*) in regard she was Aunt unto the Em-

Emperour, whom he thus purposed to maligne, he began to set the straw on fire that was under her bed; by putting a new Scruple into the Kings head of marrying his Brothers Wife: wherefore taking his opportunity, when he saw the King best disposed, he fell into discourse with him of the great unhappinesse that was befalne the nation, and how great a pity it was, he had not issue Male to succeed him in the Crown of *England*; whereat the King began to stare upon him, but answered him not a word, while the Cardinall proceeds to tell him that there might be a way found out, how with Gods blessing he might have plenty, whereat the King began to thrust his thumbs under his girdle, and to cry *Hoh man, hoh, lawfully begotten Cardinall, lawfully begotten?* Yes, lawfully begotten, replied the Card. I speak no more than what I am able to make good, and justly; whereupon he began to tell him in plain termes, that the Marriage between him and his wife (in regard she had been his Brothers) was not lawfull, and that it was a thing which was much spoken of, as well in forraign Nations, as in his own Realm, and that therefore he was bound in conscience to tell him of it, to the intent he might consider of it, and inquire further.

The

The King looking a long time very earnestly upon the Cardinall, as if he had been greatly dismayed, at last answered him in these mild termes:

Why, my Lord, you know this Marriage was sufficiently discussed at the beginning by sundry grave and learned men, and was at last by them concluded to be good & lawfull, which was afterwards confirmed and dispensed with by the Pope himself; and therefore good Father take heed what you say in this great and weighty matter: whereupon they thus parted (for that time) from one another.

Having once broke the Ice, he thus intends to passe thorough the Ford; he sends for one Dr. *John Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, Confessor to the King, a very timerous man, and one that was afraid to say or doe any thing that might displease the Cardinall, and therefore was there placed as a man wholy for his purpose: him the Cardinall conjures, that when the King should deal with him concerning a Scruple of conscience about the marriage of his wife Queen *Katharine*, that by any means he should further the same as much as in him lay, and make it a great matter of Conscience to co-habit with her, being not his lawfull wife; *Longland*, as he suppo-

sed,

ſed, having given him his leſſon, within two or three daies the Cardinall addreſſeth himſelfe to the King, and after that he had diſcuſſed a while with him concerning the invalidity of the Marriage, he adviſeth him by all means to reſolve on nothing raſhly, but to adviſe with his ghoſtly Father, which when he had done, his ghoſtly Father was not altogether the man which the Card. took him to be; for when the King adviſed with him concerning the buſineſſe, he put it off from himſelf, and adviſed his Majeſty to conſult with ſome other, that were the moſt learned Biſhops, whereupon the Cardinall had a game to play for that, which he thought to have got by ſlight of hand; for now the King was pleaſed to ſend for the moſt able Biſhops and Divines that he could think upon; amongſt all which there was not any one in all his kingdome of whom he had a more reverend eſtimation both for honeſty and learning, than he had of Doctor *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, wherefore he was one of the nominates within the liſt of ſummons to a meeting at the Cardinall's houſe in *Weſtminſter*, where after much debatement of the buſineſſe, and that the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had fully anſwered and refelled all the Arguments and Reaſons, which were there made

and

and given concerning the validity of the Marriage (to the satisfaction of most of the Bishops) he concluded that there was no cause at all of any question to be made, seeing the marriage between the King and the Queen was good and lawfull from the beginning, and that therefore it was necessary to remove that scruple from the Kings breast as soone as possible, and so the Conference was ended.

While the Clergy were all thus dancing about a scruple, in a lofty room led by the Cardinall, they were not aware of the loose fire which was brought into the powder-room, which was under them ready, and at last blew them all up: for just in this nick of time the King was deeply falne in love with a faire young Gentlewoman of the Court, then waiting upon the Queen, called Mrs. *A. Bullein* (secretly a Lutheran, and the first that ever opened her mouth to advise the K. to alteration in Religion) Daughter to Sir *Thomas Bullein* Knight (who afterward for his daughters sake was promoted to many high honours and dignities.) This Mrs. *Anne* had formerly been brought up in the Court of *France*, under the Lady *Mary* the French Queen, Sister to King *Henry*, and sometimes wife of *Lewis* the 12. King of *France*, where

she had learnt much courtly fashion and behaviour, then strange and dainty in the English Court, whereby she farre surpassed all other Ladies her companions, which so inflamed the Kings minde (having conceived within himself a possibility of riddance from his old wife, and probability of having issue Male by this) that inwardly he was resolved to have her *nolens volens*, whereupon for the present, he shewed her great favour, and expressed unto her many signs of the love, which she was yet ignorant of, so that now he was resolved upon a hand-gallop in this businesse.

Insomuch, that when the Cardinall (inscious of his design) made his addresse unto him to give him account of the Conference which was between the Bishops, and had told the King how that all did, and was likely to stick in the Lord of *Rochesters*, as the onely Remora to that proceeding (supposing that if the King could take him off, all the rest would follow his judgement) the King (by this time, desiring nothing more than that the Divorce should take effect) speedily fell into consultation with the Cardinall, how the Bishop might be won to his (now) design; the Cardinall advised his Majesty to send for the Bishop, and to work him to him by faire means

and

and gentle usage; whereupon the King did as he was advised; for the Bishop being sent for, and come into the Kings presence, the King treated him with exceeding courtesie and liberality of good language, and at last took him with him into the long gallery, and there walking awhile with him, after that he had bestowed many words of praise and commendation upon him for his great Learning and Vertue, at length (in the presence of the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and some Bishops that were there) he unfolded his minde unto him concerning the businesse that was in hand, telling him how sore his Conscience was tormented, and how for that cause he had secretly consulted with his ghostly Father, and divers other men, by whom he was not yet satisfied, & therefore (he said) upon special confidence which he had in his great learning, he had now made choice of him to use his advise above all others, requiring him to declare his opinion therein freely, whereby he might be sufficiently instructed in his conscience, and remaine no longer in suspence.

The Bishop hearing all this, fell suddenly upon his knees, and in that posture would have delivered his minde unto him, but the King immediately lifted him up with his own

hands, and blamed him for ſo doing, where-
upon he ſpake as followeth.

I beſeech your Grace to be of good cheer, &
not to diſquiet your ſelf one whit concerning
this matter, nor to be diſmayed, or troubled
at this buſineſſe; for there is no heed to be
taken of theſe men, who account themſelves
ſo wiſe, and do arrogate to themſelves more
knowledge and learning in Divinity, than had
all the learned Fathers of the Church, and
the Divines of *Spaine* and *England* (together
with the See Apoſtolick) that were in your
Fathers time, by whoſe authority this Mar-
riage was approved, confirmed and diſpenſed
with, as good and lawfull: Truly Sir, my
Soveraign Lord, you rather ought to make
a matter of conſcience, than to make any ſuch
ſcruple (in ſo clear and weighty a matter) by
bringing it in queſtion, than to have any the
leaſt ſcruple in your conſcience; and there-
fore my adviſe is, that your Majeſty, with all
ſpeed, lay aſide thoſe thoughts, and for any
perill that may happen to your ſoule thereby,
let the guilt reſt on mine. And this is all that
can be ſaid by the loyalleſt of Subjects; and
whether I have ſaid well herein, or otherwiſe
I ſhall not refuſe to anſwer any man in your
behalf, whether it be privately, or publickly;
and I doubt not but there are as many wor-
thy

thy and learned men within your Kingdome, which are of my opinion; as on the contrary (if they might be permitted to ſpeak with freedome) who hold it a very perilous and unſeemly thing, that any ſuch thing as a Divorce, ſhould be ſpoken of; to which ſide I rather adviſe your Majeſty to incline than to the other; whereat the King replied not one word; for whiles there was ſo faire a beauty in his eye, his eares muſt needs be ſtopped with the blackeſt wool: So he departed ſuddenly, and never looked favourably upon the Biſhop from that time forward.

Chap. VII.

1. *The Cardinal brought into a peck of troubles, by reason of this Scruple.* 2. *The King declares himself for* Anne *of* Bullein, *and declines the Queens company.* 3. *The Cardinalls secret complotting to break off the match with* Anne Bullein.

THe King resolving to go thorough stitch with his work, makes it a publique busineſſe: And now the Cardinals *hic labor* was become *hoc opus*; for the ſame thing which was hitherto but ſecretly handled among the Biſhops, was now made the common ſubject of diſcourſe to the whole Kingdome: And a convention hereupon was had not onely of the Biſhops, but of all the noted and famous Divines of both the Univerſities, Cathedrals, and Religious houſes within the Realme, at the Cardinals houſe at *Weſtminſter*, where the ſaid buſineſſe was debated, argued, and conſulted many daies together; but the ſubject was too knotty for ſuch tooles to work upon, and the knot too hard for their unty-

ing,

ing, wherefore they dissolved of themselves without dissolution; and now the Cardinals *hoc opus* began to be *impossible*, and *voluntas regis*, to flie so high, as if to that nothing were impossible, for now the King begins to puff and blow, and to sweare *MOTHER of God he will have her*, declaring it openly to all the world; whereupon, from more and more, he becomes *altogether* to decline his *Katharine's* company, and to delight himself wholy in the Courtships of his new Mistress.

In the mean time the Cardinall (*Wolsey*) walks the round within his owne Chamber, and with his bitten nailes teares out these words by piece-meales from his mouth, *WE WILL HAVE NONE OF THIS* ANNE BULLEIN; for we must conceive him wonderfully perplexed, having otherwise designed an alliance for his Master with the French King, by this Divorce, if he could have had his will so to have revenged himself upon the Emperour; and we cannot imagine the distressed Queen to be otherwise than implacably, as well as necessitously bent to employ all her engines to work together, with his ruine, her owne preservation. O the just and secret workings of the Almighty, who often buries us in the same pits which

we dig for others! Yet most wonderfull it is, to consider what countermines he had laid, if it had been possible to have blown up the Kings resolution in his new choice, able to have level'd any fortification of a minde that had been but compos'd either of Honour, Wisdome, Honesty, or Shame, & not of what was altogether wilfullnesse. For first, hearing a common fame of the incontinency of this *Ann* of *Bullen* he sends forth spies in every corner, to learne out, who had, or who could hear of any that had bin familiar with her: At last intelligence was brought him, that for a certeine, Sir *Thomas Wiat* had carnall knowledge of her, whereupon providing himself with sufficient instruction, he sends for Sir *Thomas Wiat*, and tells him how thus and thus it appeares, that he had bin oftentimes familiar with the Lady *Anne Bullein*, and that for certeine, the King was at this time resolv'd to marry her (assoone as ever the sentence of divorce should be pronounced) and therefore out of the great love which he ever bare unto him, and care which he had of his welfare, he thought good to acquaint him with what danger he was in, whereby he might avoid it by acquainting the King with what was truth, lest afterwards such a thing should come to the Kings eare, and then it would not

not be all the land, nor all the life he had in *England*, that could give his Majesty satisfaction for concelment of a businesse of so high concernment.

The Knight replied, Sir, I thank you for the great love and sound advice which hath been alwaies exercised in my affairs: But reverend Sir, if the King be so in love with her, as you say he is, and the world takes notice of him to be, I think I cannot be in greater danger than in acquainting the *King* with such a businesse.

If you cannot prove it said the Cardinall, you say well, it is a hard matter to prove that, said the Knt. it is a harder matter to answer the concealment, said the Cardinall, of a thing that is so much divulged as this is; and besides, in this case you can hardly suffer, but you must finde many friends; in the other you will suffer pitilesse, and will will finde no man to speak in your behalf: in this you will be but ingenuous, in the other peccant; wherefore I advise you of two evils to choose the least.

Sir *Thomas Wiat*, by these perswasions, was resolved to confesse all unto the King, which he plainly did; and with great feare, told him, that she was no fit wife for him, if he were free: the King commanded him to speak

no more upon his life, nor to acquaint any elſe with what he had told him; ſo blinde is fate.

Nor would the Cardinall attempt to batter ſo ſtrong a Tower with one Piece, but he procured a Reſerve of Engines, which he thought could not faile; for he had notice given him how that (for certain) the ſaid *Anne Bullein* was really contracted to the Lord *Henry Percy*, Son and Heire to the Earl of *Northumberland* (then a ſervant waiting upon the Cardinall) whom he immediately cauſed to appear before him, and by his owu confeſſion, finding the report to be true, and ſolemnly performed, he ſent for the Counteſſe of *Wiltſhire*, mother to the ſaid *Anne Bullein*; and hearing what ſhe could ſay to the buſineſſe, which was no leſſe than what the ſaid *Percy* had ſaid before, he encouraged her in the proſecution, who for ſome reaſons beſt known unto her ſelf, as ſhe ſaid to the Cardinall, better liked of the Marriage of her daughter with the ſaid Lord *Percy*, than if the King ſhould marry her.

The Cardinall finding a backwardneſſe in this Lady, that her daughter ſhould be wedded to the King; and hearing what fame had formerly ſpread abroad concerning the Kings former familiarity with her, gueſſed at the cauſe,

cause, and therefore advised her to go unto the King, and deale freely with him in that particular, lest hereafter she might otherwise repent.

The Lady takes his advise, and addresses her self to the King, who communing with him awhile upon that subject, between jest and earnest, she uttered these words; Sir, *For the reverence of God take heed what you do, in marrying my daughter, for if you record your conscience well, she is your own daughter as well as mine:* The King replied, *Whose daughter soever she is, she shall be my Wife.* But

When she proceeded to acquaint him with the Contract, and told him how that her daughter and the Lord *Percy* were already man and wife before God, solemnly contracted in the presence of such and such: the King was exceeding angry, and swore by his wonted oath that it was not so, and it should not be so, and sent immediately for the Lady her self to come before him, to whom, as soon as ever she came into the presence, and before ever she had heard of the business, the King, with a frowning countenance said unto her, *Is it so* Nan, *is it so, hoh, What say'st thou to it?* To what, said *Anne Bullein?* Mother of God, said the King, they say that thou hast promised to marry young *Percy:* Mrs. *Anne* nothing

thing at all abashed, returns him this answer, *Sir, When I knew no otherwise but that it was lawfull for me to make such promises, I must confesse I made him some such promise*; but *no good subject makes any promises but with this proviso, that if his Soveraigne commands otherwise it shall be lawfull for him to obey*: Well said my own Girle, said the King, and turning himself to the Countess, he said, I told you that there was no such thing.

Thus you see concerning the first particular, the King cared not who he married, so that he might be wedded to his own will; and concerning the second, the King presently after sent for the Cardinall, and him for to undo the former knot with his own teeth, enjoyning him to procure his servant to release his Mistress of her engagement, which he did.

CHAP.

CHAP: VIII.

1. *The first occasion of the Cardinalls ruine.* 2. *The King sends divers Orators to the Universities beyond the Seas to procure their assentments to the Divorce.* 3. *The return with satisfaction, but it proves fruitlesse.* 4. *Embassadours are sent to* Rome. 5. *The Cardinall aspireth to be Pope.* 6. *He useth strange meanes to accomplish the same.*

NOw it is the Queens bed must be taken down, that her palat may be advanced: but from this time forward, though the Card. was seemingly forward, yet was covertly slow in the prosecution of the Divorce, which afterwards proved to be his ruine.

Wherefore the King was advised by the Cardinalls, and the rest of the bishops (as the only way of dispatch) to send certaine Orators to forreine Universities (as well as to those at home) and so without any more ado to rest in their judgements.

The King having made choice of men fit for his purpose, gave them instructions, and sent

ſent them ſeveral ways to the moſt renowned Univerſities of Chriſtendome, there to diſpute the caſe, *viz.* whether it was lawfull for a man to marry his brothers wife, or not, without acqnainting them with the particulars, either of the former brothers having no carnall knowledge of the ſaid wife, or the Popes diſpenſation thereupon, ſo that by this ſlight and ſubtilty they eaſily obtained determinations from all the Univerſities, *viz.* that *it was not lawfull*; whereupon, not knowing whoſe caſe it was, nor the caſe it ſelfe rightly, the Oratours procured thoſe determinations under the common Seales of all the forraigne Univerſities, whereupon they returned with great triumph, to the great contentment of the King, who rewarded them highly for their paines; and it muſt not be thought that our Univerſities at home (though they onely underſtood the caſe) ſhould be wiſer than all the Univerſities of Chriſtendome.

All theſe Seales were all delivered into the Cardinalls hand, with a ſtrict charge ſpeedily to convene all the Biſhops before him, and to determine upon the buſineſſe: but this quick fire could not make this ſweet malt; for it was determined (by whoſe means you may eaſily gueſſe) that although the Univerſities had thus determined under their Seales,

yet

yet the busineſſe was too weighty for them to determine thereupon, as of themſelves, without the authority of the Sea Apoſtolike; but they all fell upon this agreement among themſelves, that Orators ſhould be ſent with theſe Seales of the Univerſities to *Rome*, to treat with the Pope for procuring his confirmation therein: thus the King was ſhov'd off with another wave from the Shore of his deſired purpoſe.

With much reluctancy, and ſenſibility of the tedioufneſſe of the delay, no other remedy appearing, Ambaſſadours were diſpatched in all haſt to *Rome*, *Clement* the ſeventh being Pope at that time: The Ambaſſadours names were *Stephen Gardiner*, the Kings Secretary; Sir *Francis Brian* Knight, one of the Gentlemen of the Kings Privy Chamber; Sir *Gregory de Caſſale*, an Italian, and Mr. *Peter Vannes* a Venetian, who being arrived at *Rome*, having propounded the cauſe of their coming, and reſted themſelves there awhile, letters were come unto them from the King and the Cardinall, with further inſtructions how to deale with the Pope, and to make all poſſible diſpatch that could be made in the buſineſſe: But the Ambaſſadours were not half ſo haſty in demanding, as the Pope was ſlow in expedition, and that by reaſon of the

the Gout, which then afflicted him (and perhaps of an unwillingneſſe of the minde, as well as a debility of the body) the Embaſſadours, by the return of their Letters, having made knowne unto the King the Popes flowneſſe, by reaſon of his great infirmity, the Cardinall layes hold upon this occaſion, and informes the King, how that if he were Pope, if it ſhould ſo happen, that the Pope ſhould die, all ſhould goe well and ſpeedily on his ſide: To this purpoſe Letters were ſent thick and three-fold to *Rome*, both from the King and Cardinall, with inſtructions, that they would the more earneſtly and often call upon the Pope for a finall determination, hoping that he would the more eaſily be drawn thereto, that he might (by reaſon of his paine) be rid of their importunity; as alſo, that if the Pope ſhould chance to die of this preſent diſeaſe, that (by all meanes) they ſhould deviſe ſome way or other how the Cardinall of *York* ſhould be elected to ſucceed in his place: and to promiſe mountaines of Gold, to procure their ſuffrages in his behalfe, and in caſe they could not prevaile, but that the Cardinalls were likely to chooſe ſome ſuch man, as was not likely to further the Kings deſignes, that they ſhould take up what ſummes of money they

they could upon the Kings credit, and therewith to raiſe a preſidie (as it is termed both in the King & Cardinals letters) or power of men (and taking with them ſuch Cardinals as could be brought to favour their purpoſes) to depart out of the City into ſome out-place not farre off, and there to make a Schiſme, in the behalf of the Cardinal. But there was no need of that adviſe, for the Pope recovered health, and lived to finiſh the buſineſſe, though contrary to the Kings expectation, wherefore.

Chap. IX.

1. *Cardinall* Campeius *is sent Legate into* England *to determine the busines of Divorce.* 2. *The Embassadours are returned.* 3. *Cardinall* Wolsey *joyned in Commission with the other Cardinall.* 4. *The Court sits.* 5. *Counsell is assigned to both the parties.* 6. *Queen* Catharine's *speech in her own defence.*

THe Embassadours finding the Pope to be the same man, for slowness, as he was, when he was tyed by the leg: Requested of his Holiness that he would be pleased to send a Legate into *England* with full authority to heare and determine the business there, according to right, as he should see cause; which was granted, and accordingly one *Laurence Campeius*, a well learned man, and of undaunted courage (to whom the King about ten yeares before, had given the Bishoprick of *Bath* at his being in *England* upon another occasion) was appointed for that negotiation.

The Embassadours thus returning with a conclusion

conclusion of a new beginning, the Kings patience must now rest satisfied with the expectation of the Legates coming, which after long expectation he arrived here in *England*, who coming to *Lond.* was lodged in his own Palace, then called *Bath*-house; but before his arrivall, a new Commission from the Pope overtooke him at *Callis*, wherein the Cardinall of *York* was joyned with him in Commission; and this was procured by the King, whereby (as he thought) his businesse should be sure to meet with the fewer rubbes.

The Cardinals met, Audience was given, the Commission was opened, the Place assigned, the assignement was at the Dominick Fryers in *London*, the King and Queene were to be close by at their lodgings at *Bridewell*: The learned Counsell on both sides were appointed. The King (because he would seeme indifferent) willed the Queene to chuse her Counsell, the Queene would chuse none at all (as suspecting the indifferency of such as were his owne subjects.) Wherefore for fashion sake these Counsellours were assigned her. *John Fisher* Bishop of Rochester; *Henry Staindish* Bishop of St. *Asaph*: *Thomas Abel*, *Richard Fetherston*, *Edward Powell*, all Doctors in Divinity; and of Civilians, and

Canoniſts, *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Cuthbert Tunſtall* Biſhop of *London*, *Nicholas Weſt* Biſh. of *Ely*, and *John Clerk* Biſhop of *Bath* (for at *Campeius* his arivall he was tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*) on the Kings part the like number of profound and learned Doctors, as well Divines, as Civilians, and Canoniſts.

Silence being proclaimed in the Court, and the Commiſſion read, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* preſented the two Legates with a Booke, which he had compiled in defence of the Marriage, making therewith a grave and learned Oration, wherein he deſired them to take good heed to what they did in ſo weighty a buſineſſe, putting them in minde of the great and manifold dangers, and inconveniences w hich were ready to enſue thereupon, not onely to this Realm, but to the whole ſtate of Chriſtendome.

After this Oration was ended, the King was called by name, who anſwered HERE: After that the Queen, who made no anſwer, but roſe immediately out of her chaire, and coming about the Court, ſhe kneeled downe before tthe King openly in the ſight of both the Legates, and the whole Court, and ſpake as followeth.

Sir, I beſeech you do me juſtice and right, and

and take ſome pity upon me, for I am a ſimple woman, and a ſtranger born out of your dominions, and have no friend but you, who now being become my adverſary, Alas, what friendſhip or aſſurance of indifferency in any counſel can I find hope to amongſt your ſubjects? What have I done? Wherein have I offended you? How have I given you any occaſion of diſpleaſure? Why will you put me from you in this ſort? I take God to my judge I have bin a true, humble, & faithful wife unto you; alwaies conformable to your will and pleaſure: Wherein did I ever contradict, or gainſay whatever you ſaid? When was I diſcontented at the thing that pleaſed you? Whom did I love but thoſe whom you loved, whether I had cauſe or not? I have been your wife this twenty yeares; you have had divers Children by me; when you took me firſt into your Bed, I take God to be my witneſſe I was a Virgin, and whether that be true or no, I put it to your conſcience. Now if there be any juſt cauſe that you can alleadge againſt me, either of diſhoneſty, or the like, I am contented to depart the Realm, and you, with ſhame and infamy; but if there be no ſuch cauſe, then I pray you let me have juſtice at your hands. The King your Father was in his time of ſuch an excellent wit, as that for

his wisdomes sake he was accounted a second *Solomon*; and *Ferdinand* my Father was reckoned to be one of the wisest Princes that reigned in *Spaine*, for many yeares before his daies. These being both so wise Princes, it is not to be doubted but they had gathered unto them as wise Counsellours of both Realmes, as they in their wisdomes thought most meet; and as I take it, there were in those dayes, as wise, and learned men in both kingdomes, as there are now to be found in these our times, who thought the Marriage between you and I to be good and lawfull; but for this I may thank you my Lord Cardinall of *York (then her best friend, though she knew it not, or perhaps was secretly advised to be thus bitter against him)* who having sought to make this dissention betweene my Lord the King and me, because I have so often found fault with your pompous vanity, and aspiring minde; yet I doe not think that this your malice proceeds from you meerly in respect of my self, but your chief displeasure is against my Nephew the Emperour, because you could not at his hands attaine unto the Bishoprick of *Toledo*, which greedily you desired; and after that was by his meanes put by the chief and high Bishoprick of *Rome*, whereunto you most ambitiously aspired;

whereat

whereat being sore offended, and yet not able to revenge your quarrel upon him, the heavy burden of your indignation must be laid upon a female weakness, for no other reason but because she is his Aunt. And these are the manly wayes you take to ease your minde: but God forgive you; wherefore Sir (applying her self to the King) it seemes to me to be no justice that I should stand to the order of this court, seeing one of my Judges to be so partiall; and if I should agree to stand to the judgement of this Court, what Councellours have I but such as are your owne Subjects, taken from your own Counsell, to which they are privy, and perhaps dare not go against it; wherefore I refuse to stand to their advice or plea, or any judgement that is here, and doe appeale unto the Sea Apostolick, before our holy Father the Pope, humbly beseeching you by the way of charity, to spare me, till I may know what further course my friends in *Spaine* will advise me to; and if this may not be granted, then your pleasure be fulfilled.

With that, making a low obeysance to the King, she departed the Court, leaving behinde her many sad hearts, and weeping eyes, among the which this good Bishop of *Rochester* was most compassionate.

After she was perceived to be quite departed from the Court (for it was supposed that she meant to have returned to her place) the King commanded that she should be called back againe, but she would not in any wise returne, saying to those that were about her, This is no place for me to expect any indifferency, for they are all agreed what they will doe, and the King is resolved what shall be done. Soe she departed cleare away from the Court, and never afterwards did she appeare there any more.

CHAP.

Chap. X.

1. *The good Character which the King gave his Queen* (Katharine.) 2. *The King declares his ſcruple of Conſcience.* 3. *Shewes the danger the Kingdom is in for lack of iſſue Male.* 4. *His proceedings with the Biſhops therein.*

THe King perceiving that ſhe was thus departed, ſpake unto the Court as followeth:

Foraſmuch as the Queene is now gone, I will declare, in her abſence, before you all, that ſhe hath ever been to me, as true, obedient, and conformable a wife, as I could wiſh, or any man deſire to have, as having all the vertuous qualities that ought to be in a woman, of her dignity: ſhe is high born (as the quality of her conditions do declare) yet of ſo meek a ſpirit, as if her humility had not been acquainted with her birth; ſo that if I ſought all Europe over, I ſhould never finde a better wife; and therefore how willing I would (if it were lawfull) continue her to be

my

my wife (till Death make the ſeparation) ye may all gueſs: but *Conſcience*, *Conſcience* is ſuch a thing, who can endure the ſting and prick of *Conſcience*, alwaies ſtinging and pricking within his breaſt? Wherefore, my Lords, this woman, this good woman, I ſay, ſometimes being my brothers wife, as ye all know, or have heard, hath bred ſuch a ſcruple within the ſecrets of my breaſt, as daily doth torment, cumber, and diſquiet my minde, fearing and miſtruſting, that I am in great danger of Gods indignation, and the rather, becauſe he hath ſent me no iſſue Male, but ſuch as died incontinently after they were born. Thus my Conſcience being toſſed to and fro upon theſe unquiet waves, (almoſt in deſpaire of having any other iſſue by her) it behoveth me, I think, to look a little further, and to conſider now the welfare of this Realm, and the great danger that it ſtandeth in, for lack of a Prince to ſucceed me in this office, and therefore I thought good in reſpect of the diſcharging of my conſcience, and for the quiet ſtate of this noble Realm, to attempt the Law herein, that is, to know by your good and learned counſell, whether I might lawfully take another wife, by whom God may ſend me iſſue Male, in caſe this my firſt marriage ſhould appeare not warrantable;

and

and this is the onely cauſe for which I have ſought thus farre unto you, and not for any diſpleaſure, or diſliking of the Queenes perſon, or age, with whom I could be as well contented to live, and continue (if our marriage may ſtand with the Laws of God) as with any woman living: and in this point conſiſteth all the doubt, wherein I would be ſatiſfied by the ſound Learning, Wiſdome, and Judgements of you my Lords, the Prelates and Paſtors of this Realme, now here aſſembled for that purpoſe; and according to whoſe determination herein, I am contented to ſubmit my ſelfe, with all obedience; and that I meant not to wade in ſo weighty a matter (of my ſelfe) without the opinion and judgement of my Lords ſpirituall, it may well appeare in this, that ſhortly after the coming of this ſcruple into my *conſcience*, I moved it to you, my Lord of *Lincolne*, my ghoſtly Father; and foraſmuch as you your ſelfe, my Lord, were then in ſome doubt, you adviſed me to ask the counſell of the reſt of the Biſhops, whereupon I moved you, my Lord, of *Canterbury*, firſt, to have your Licence (inaſmuch as you were the Metropolitan) to put this matter in queſtion, as I did to all the reſt, the which you all have granted under your Seales, which I have here

here to shew. That is true, and if it please your Grace, said the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and I doubt not but my brethren here will acknowledge the same. Now you must understand, that the King having won the Archbishop wholly to his designe, the Archbishop had got as many of the Bishops hands unto that Deed as he could, and set the rest of the Bishops hands thereto, of his own accord, they both imagining that none would have been so bold as to contradict, or charge so openly, both the King, and the Archbishop of an untruth: but my Lord of *Rochester*, being of an undaunted spirit, and one of the Queenes Counsell assigned (whereby he might deliver his mind the better) knowing the clearnesse of his own conscience, said unto the Archbishop, *No my Lord; not so, under your favour, all the Bishops were not so farre agreed, for to that instrument you have neither my hand nor my seale:* No, hoh, said the King, and with a frowning countenance, said to my Lord of *Rochester*, *Look here, Is not this your hand and seale?* shewing him the instrument, *no forsooth,* (said the Bishop) *it is none of my hand nor seale, How say you to that* (said the King to my Lord of *Canterbury*) *Sir,* said he *it is his hand and his seale; No my Lord* (said the Bishop of *Rochester*) *indeed you were in hand*

with

with me often for my hand and ſeal, as others of my Lords have been; but I always told both you and them, I would in no wiſe conſent to any ſuch act, for it was much againſt my conſcience to have any ſuch buſineſſe called in queſtion, and therefore my hand and ſeale ſhould never be put to any ſuch inſtrument, God willing, with a great deale more, which I ſaid to that purpoſe, if you remember.

Indeed (ſaid my Lord of *Canterbury*) *it is true, you had ſuch words with me; but after our talk ended, you were at laſt contented that I ſhould ſubſcribe your name, and put your ſeale thereto, and you would allow the ſame, as if it had been your act and deed*; then my Lord of *Rocheſter* ſeeing himſelf ſo unjuſtly charged, ſaid unto the Archbiſhop, *No, no, my Lord, by your favour and licence, that had been all one, and that which you charge me with, is not true*: And as he was proceeding in his ſpeech, the King interrupted him ſaying, *Well, well, my Lord of* Rocheſter, *it makes no great matter, we will not ſtand with you in argument, you are but one man amongſt the reſt, if the worſt fall out*: but the reſt of the Biſhops that had bin dealt with in like manner, ſaid not a word, ſo that the firſt encounter on the Queens ſide was not ſo well performed, through want of ſeconds: And this was all that was done for that day.

CHAP.

Chap. XI.

1. *The pleadings of the Counſell on both ſides.* 2. *The depoſition of the ſeverall Witneſſe.* 3. *The honeſt Plea of Biſhop* Fiſher. 4. *The ſtout Plea of Doctor* Ridley. 5. *Cardinall* Wolſey *takes him up.* 6. *The Doctors Reply thereto.*

UPon the ſecond meeting there was much matter propounded by the Counſell of the Kings part, concerning the invalidity of the foreſaid marriage from the beginning, by reaſon of the carnall copulation there vehemently urged to have bin committed between Prince *Arthur* the Kings brother, and the preſent Queene; but being again as vehemently denied by the Queenes Counſell, the whole matter reſted onely upon proof: to this purpoſe divers witneſſes were produced. As

1. *Agnes*, the old Dutcheſſe of *Norfolk*, who depoſed, that ſhe was preſent at the marriage of Prince *Arthur*, at St. *Paul's* in *London*, and that ſhe ſaw them both in bed together

together the next night after they were married: the Prince being of the age of fifteen yeares, and the Princesse elder.

2. *George*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, who deposed, as to the celebration of the Marriage, *Decimo septimo Henrici* 7. 1501. that he was born at *Winchester*, *secundo Hen.* 7. that he believed Prince *Arthur* knew the Queen carnally, and was able so to doe, because he knew his wife before she was sixteen.

3. *William Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that never liked the marriage, and that he told *Hen.* 7. as much.

4. Sir *William Thomas* Knight, who deposed, as to the age of the parties, and their cohabitation as man and wife five moneths together, both at *London* and in *Ludlow*.

5. Sir *Anthony Poynes* as to the age onely.

6. *Thomas*, Marquesse of *Dorset*, as to age, and that he was of a good sanguine complexion, and able (as he supposed) for the businesse.

7. *Robert*, Viscount *Fitzwater*, as to the age, and that the next day (after they had been a bed together) he waited on Prince *Arthur*, whiles he was at breakfast, where *Maurice St. John* carved, and the Lord *Fitzwater* was Cupbearer, where he heard Prince *Arthur*

(upon

(upon the said *Maurice* his asking the Prince *how he had done the last night?*) Answer, *I have been in* Spain *the last night.*

8. *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, *William* Lord *Montjoy*, and *Henry Guildford* Knights of the Garter, little to any purpose but what they had heard by publique fame.

9. *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, deposed to the same effect with *Maurice S. John*, and that the Prince soon after began to decay in bodily health; which said he, as the said *S. John* related, grew by the Prince his lying with the Lady *Katharine.*

10. *David Owen*, as to the age onely.

11. *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, to the same effect with *Maurice S. John*, by which words he believed that the Prince carnally knew the Lady; and because he was of a good complexion and age (as he supposed) sufficient, having performed the like himselfe at the same age.

12. *Anth: Willoughby* Kt. that the morrow after the Marriage (in the presence of divers witnesses, being in the Privy chamber) the Prince called to the said *Willoughby*, saying, *Willoughby, give me a cup of Ale, for I have been in the midst of* Spain *the last night.*

13. *Nicholas* Bishop of *Ely*, that he could say nothing concerning the *carnalis copula*, but

but that he very much doubted it, in regard the Queen often (*ſub teſtimonio conſcientiæ ſuæ*) ſaid to this Deponent, that *ſhe was never carnally known by Prince* Arthur.

Theſe things being depoſed, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* ſtood up, and ſpake in this manner, *And all this is no more than what hath formerly been depoſed, examined, throughly debated, and ſcanned by the beſt and learneſt Divines and Lawyers that could poſſibly be got; which time I do very well remember, and am not ignorant of the manner of their proceedings, when and where all the allegations (in reſpect of what was then produced to the contrary) was adjudged vain and frivolous; whereupon the Marriage was concluded; which Marriage was afterwards approved, and ratified by the See Apoſtolique, and that in ſuch large and ample manner, as that I think it a very hard matter now againe to call the ſame in queſtion before another Judge.*

Then ſtood up another of the Queenes Counſell, Doctor *Ridley*, a little man, but of a great ſpirit, and profound learning, and ſaid as followeth, *My Lords, the Cardinals; We have heard how the Queene her ſelfe, here in the face of the whole Court, and in the preſence and hearing of the King himſelf, called the great God of heaven and earth to witneſs, that ſhe*

was a pure Virgin when she first came into the Kings bed, and how she put it to his conscience, speaking unto him face to face; and if it were otherwise, we cannot imagine that either the Queen durst so appeale unto him, or the King so spoke unto (if unworthily) would not have contradicted her: besides, we have here the testimony of a most reverend Father, who hath deposed upon his oath how the Queen had often sub testimonio conscientiæ suæ, said unto him, how that she never had any carnall knowledge of Prince Arthur. Now, my Lords, that such a frolick, or a jest (as that about a cup of Ale, or the midst of Spaine, which together with all the rest that hath beene said) are but meere conjectures and presumptions (should stand in competition with so great a testimony, as a soveraigne Princes solemn attestation of her cause upon the Kings conscience, and that conscience clearing her from such presumption by its own silence) should cause us to lay aside all reverence which we owe to former power and authority, as that all the determinations, consultations, approbations, confirmations of all former powers, even of the See Apostolique it selfe, should become void, by your calling this matter againe into question, is a thing in my conceit most detestable to be rehearsed, and a great shame to this honourable Court to heare

such

uch ſtuffe ripped up to no other purpoſe but in contempt of former Power, and calling the wiſdome of our Anceſtors and Predeceſſors, together with our owne, into queſtion and deriſion.

Whereat Cardinall *Wolſey*, that he might not ſeeme to ſay nothing by ſaying ſomething, ſaid unto him in Latin, *Domine Doctor, magis reverenter: No no, my Lord* (ſaid the Doctor) *there belongeth no reverence to be given (at all) for an unreverent matter would be unreverently anſwer'd.* Whereupon

Cardinall *Campeius* called for Doctour *Cuthbert Tunſtall*, Biſhop of *London*, and deſired to heare him ſpeak, for he was a man of profound judgement and learning, and one in whoſe wiſdome and honeſty the Cardinall repoſed great confidence. This *Tunſtall* had written a very learned Treatiſe in defence of the Queenes Marriage, which indeed ſhould have been read in the Court, but the King fearing his abilities, purpoſely ſent him upon an Embaſſie into *Scotland* (at the very time he ſhould have appeared) about a triviall buſineſſe, ſo that he appeared not in Court this ſecond time.

It was conceieved, that had not the Queen

appealed unto *Rome*, the Marriage had been confirmed at this Seſſion, as it was afterwards by the Pope himſelfe, when it was too late; but being as it was, all matters of queſtion and determination were cleare laid aſide, and onely ſuch things as belonged to *Inſtruction* and *Information* of his Holineſſe in the cauſe, were inquired after, and that upon the earneſt motion of the Biſhop of *Ely*, one of the Queenes Counſell, whereupon both the Legates determined to heare no further pleadings.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

1. *The King commanded the two Cardinalls to perſwade the Queen to relinquiſh her appeale.* 2. *Their obeaience returnes fruitleſſe to his commands.* 3. *The King growes reſolute, and demands ſentence; the Cardinalls refuſe to give it.* 4. *The Lords of the Counſell begin to ſtorme.* 5 *The King to conceive great indignation againſt the Cardinall of* York, *retires ſodainly into the Countrey.* 6. *The paſſage which happened between the King and Mr.* Cranmer *there.*

THus the King being diſappointed of his purpoſe, ſent for the Cardinal of *York*, and gave him a ſtrict charge to take unto him his fellow-Cardinall, and immediately to repaire unto the Queen, and to uſe their uttermoſt endeavours in perſwading her to give over her Appeale, and to ſtand to the judgement of the Court, or elſe to ſurrender the whole buſineſſe into his hands, and to uſe all the arguments his wiſdome could deviſe, to perſwade her it would be much the

better, and more honourable for both parties, then to ſtand to a publique triall in forreigne parts.

The Cardinall (to ſatisfie the Kings commands) promſed the uttermoſt of his endeavours in that behalf, but all in vain; for the Queen ſtood ſtoutly to her Appeale, and would not in any wiſe be brought to retract her former reſolution, affording them the ſame reaſons as formerly, and requeſting them for Charity ſake, to give a ſimple and helpleſſe woman the beſt adviſe they could, what was beſt to be done to the glory of God, the Kings ſatisfaction, and her owne honour: Whereupon they both returned to their former perſwaſions, and the Queen to her former anſwers. Thus the Cardinalls returned well pleaſed, that they could not conquer her, and the Queen unfortunate that ſhe was not overcome.

The King put off (thus) from poſt to pillar, grew *weary* of theſe delayes, and *reſolute* in having a ſpeedy end, he cared not which way, ſo it were done, and done it muſt be, as he would have it: Wherefore he called another Seſſion, and in perſon urged a finall Sentence, and the proceedings to be read in Latin; whereupon the King Counſel called for judgement; with that *Campeius* anſwered againe

again in Latin, *Not so, I will give no Sentence before I have made a relation of the whole Transactions of these Affaires unto the Pope, whereunto I am obliged by vertue of the Queens Appeale, considering whose Commissioners we are, and by whose authority we here sit. I come not hither for favour, or dread sake to pleasure any person living, be he King or Subject, neither for any such respect sake will I offend my Conscience, or displease my God. I am now an old man, both weak and sickly; and should I now put my soule in danger of Gods displeasure and everlasting damnation (for feare or favour of any Prince in this World) it is not all the Princes of the world can give me comfort. I come hither to do justice, according to my conscience; I have heard the allegations, the party hath appealed from our sentence, as supposing us to be unfit Judges in her cause, being Subjects (under so high Authority, and in his own Realm) that dare not do her justice, fearing the Kings displeasure; wherefore I will not do an act which I cannot answer to God, nor my Superiour; and therefore I adjourne the Court for this time:* So the Court was dissolved, and nothing more of this nature was done (in *England*) ever after.

The Lords about the King perceiving the miscarriage of the Kings businesse, began to

utter and speak big words against the two Cardinalls, and among the rest *Cha: Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk* (one whom the King had formerly raised from mean condition to so high honour and dignity, and had bestowed his own sister upon him in marriage) clapped his hand upon the boord, and swore *By Gods Blood he now found the saying to be true, that Cardinalls did never good in England*; which words he spake with such a spirit of vehemence, and clamorous noyse, as if it had been (as indeed it was) the warning-piece to give notice to the kingdome, when it was time to fall upon the Clergy; and wise men thought he durst not have done it, had he not been privy to the Kings minde before-hand.

The King himselfe (conceiving great indignation hereat, especially against the Cardinall of *York* (whom he conceived not to have performed the utmost of his endeavours herein, but to have wilfully fallen from his omnipotency whiles he was on the Almighty's side) and Queens Counsell) retires himself into the Countrey for a space (as if like the Ramme he had run backward, that he might come on with a greater force of vengeance) where being at that time at a place commonly called St. *Tooths*, a house of my Lord *Darcy* neere unto *Colchester*, this passage happened;

happened; Mr. *Cranmer* (a Maſter both of all Arts, and cunning how to uſe them, & Fellow of Jeſus Colledge in *Cambridg*) being at the ſame time retired into that Countrey with one of his Pupils (by reaſon of the Sickneſſe then raging in *Cambridge*) happened to be in an Inne thereabouts, where ſome of the Courtiers were, by reaſon of the Courts then being at my Lord of *Darcy*'s houſe, where (hearing ſome of the Courtiers relating how diſcontentedly the King behaved himſelf (by reaſon of thoſe late accidents which had happened ſo croſſe to his deſignes) inſomuch that he would hardly ſuffer any man to *come* neere him, much leſſe to ſpeak unto him) he ſpake unto them as followeth.

Gentlemen, if the King knew but his owne power ſo rightly as he might be given to underſtand the ſame, there would be no cauſe left him for diſcontentment, but rather a way paved unto him for all manner of ſatisfaction; for, ſaith he, if the King rightly underſtood his own office, neither Pope, nor any other Potentate whatſoever, neither in cauſes Civill or Eccleſiaſtical, hath any thing to do with him, or any of his actions within his own Realme and Dominion, but he himſelf (under God) hath the ſupreme Government of this Land, in all cauſes whatſoever; and this I am able to make good, both with my learning

ning and my life against any man living.

One of the Courtiers (hearing this, and knowing it to be a Speech so justly calculated to the height of that Meridian, and a saying so agreeable to the Kings temper, as if it had taken measure of his minde) said thus unto him, I tell thee Scholler, the King shall not sleep till I have told him what thou hast said; and if thou canst make thy words good, for ought I know (in time) thou mayest be a Bishop; whereupon he hasteneth to the Court, and to speak with the King, but it was late in the evening before he could finde his opportunity, but at the last he found it; and when he had related unto the King what such a man had said, and what he would undertake, the King swore by his wonted oath, *Mother of God that man hath the right Sow by the eare; I shall not goe to bed untill I speak with him,* commanding the same party forthwith to depart out of his presence, and to bring *Cranmer* to him with all speed, the Messenger makes hast unto the Inne, but Mr. *Cranmer* was departed to his friends house two miles off before his return thither, wherefore the messenger gave strict order to the Inne-keeper that he should send an Expresse unto Mr. *Cranmer* to tell him that he should not faile to be at the Court betimes on the morrow, for

for the King would ſpeak with him: Back to the Court the Meſſenger returnes with this account, whereat the King was exceeding wroth with the Meſſenger, and ſwore that *he ſhould finde him out this night if he were above ground, and bring him to him, for he would not cloſe his eyes until he had ſeen him*; with much ado night brought him unto the King, who brought night upon the Church; for queſtionleſſe there was the firſt platform raiſed for the Church of *Englands* downfall.

For after much private conference firſt had between the King and Mr. *Cranmer*, and afterward with his moſt private Counſell, the moſt cunning and able men (as ſpies) were ſpeedily ſent to *Rome* to prie into the Records, to ſee in what ſtate and condition the Clergy of *England* there ſtood with the Pope of *Rome*, as alſo what Oaths the Clergy of *England* did uſually there take, and what Obedience they had promiſed unto him, &c. and what advantages otherwiſe might be pickt thence againſt the Clergie here, whereby to draw them into a P æmunire.

Which things performed, the King returns back again to *London* with an ocean of diſpleaſure in his boſome, and a tempeſt in his countenance.

CAP.

CHAP. XIII.

1. *Both the Queenes ſet againſt Cardinall* Wolſey. 2. *Cardinall* Campeius *departs the Kingdom.* 3. *A Parliament is called wherein great complaints are made againſt the Clergy.* 4. *The Biſhop of* Rocheſter *his Speech in Parliament.* 5. *The Commons highly incenſed at his Speech, they complaine thereof unto the King.* 6. *The King queſtioned the Biſhop therefore; the Biſhops anſwer thereupon.*

THe Cardinall (*Wolſey*) had the two Ladies, *Catharine* that was ſo neere her ſetting, and *Anne* that was ſo apparent in her riſing (though as different as the two Poles between themſelves) both againſt him; the one diſcovering, the other aggravating his offences; yet, though ſometime he had been both their enemies, yet neither of them had a better friend; for he proved ſuch a conſtant enemy to the laſt, that he became a Martyr for the former, and ſuch a bitter adverſary (ſometimes) to the firſt, as he became

came (afterwards) the second's footstoole to her Throne; yet neither of them gave him thanks, which rendred his venome guilty of the nature of the Spiders thus to be intangled within his own web.

Cardinall *Campeius* perceiving the King disposed to discontentment, takes his leave of his Majesty, and suddenly departs the Realme (after that he had made his abode here in this kingdome neere upon the space of one yeare) who was no sooner gone, but a sodaine rumour arose, how that he had carried with him vast summes of money of the other Cardinalls out of the Realme; (for at that time Cardinall *Wolsey* was suspected to flie the Land, by reason of the Kings displeasure) insomuch that he was speedily sent after, and overtaken at *Callis*, where when they had searched all his carriages, they scarce found so much money about him as would serve to defray his ordinary charges to *Rome*: This the Cardinall *Campeius* took heavily, and thereat was mervailously discontented; which search for treasure was but a colour, for the thing which the King aimed at, was the instrument which contained the sentence of Divorce (which *Campeius* had shewed unto the King) in case he had seen cause to put the same in execution, which if the King had

had found out, it is supposed he would have made good play therewith: but he was deceived of his purpose.

Howsoever, in the 22. yeare of the Kings reigne a Parliament was summoned to begin at *London* the 3. day of *November*, and in the year of our Lord 1529. and accordingly Writs were directed to all the Counties, &c. but withall private Letters were sent to the most potent men, directing them whom they should choose; which Letters there were few or none durst disobey, so that there was a Parliament filled to the Kings hearts desire. And

The regulations of all abuses of the Clergy were referred to the house of Commons, where severe complaints against the whole Clergy, as well as against particular Clergie-men, were daily presented; whereof some the house of Lords took into consideration, and some they rejected; which when the Bishop of *Rochester* perceived, he spake as followeth.

My Lords, here are certaine Bills exhibited against the Clergy, wherein there are complaints made against the viciousnesse, idlenesse, rapacity and cruelty of Bishops, Abbots, Priests and their Officialls: But my Lords, Are all vitious, all idle, all ravenous, and cruell Priests,

or

or Bishops? And for such as are such, are there not laws provided already against such? Is there any abuse that we doe not seek to rectifie? or can there be such a rectification, as that there shall be no abuses? or are not Clergie men to rectifie the abuses of the Clergie? or shall men finde fault with other mens manners, whiles they forget their owne? and punish where they have no authority to correct? If We be not exemptive in our Lawes, let each man suffer for his delinquency; or if we have not power, aid us with your assistance, and we shall give you thanks: But my Lords, I heare there is a motion made, that the small Monasteries shall be taken into the Kings hands, which makes me feare it is not so much the Good as the Goods of the Church, that is looked after: Truly my Lords, how this may sound in your eares I cannot tell, but to me it appeares no otherwise, than as if our holy Mother the Church were to become a bondmaid, and new brought into servility and thraldome, and by little & little to be quite banished out of those dwelling places, which the piety and liberality of our forefathers (as most bountifull Benefactors) have conferred upon her; otherwise to what tendeth these portentous and curious Petitions of the Commons? To no other intent or purpose, but to bring the Clergie into contempt with the Laity, that they may seize their Patrimony.

trimony. But my Lords, beware of your ſelves and your country; beware of your holy Mother the Catholique Church; the people are ſubject unto Novelities, and Lutheraniſme ſpreads it ſelf amongſt us. Remember Germany *and* Bohemith, *what miſeries are befallen them already; and let our neighbors houſes that are now on fire, teach us to beware our own diſaſters: Wherefore, my Lords, I will tell you plainly what I think, that except ye reſiſt manfully by your authorities, this violent heap of miſchiefs offered by the Commons, you ſhall ſee all obedience firſt drawn from the Clergie; and ſecondly from your ſelves; and if you ſearch into the true cauſes of all theſe miſchiefs which reign among them, you ſhall finde that they all ariſe through want of Faith.*

This Speech pleaſed and diſpleaſed divers of the houſe of Peeres, as they were ſeverally inclined or addicted to forward, or flatter the Kings deſigns; among the which none made any reply thereto, but onely the Duke of *Norfolk*, who ſpake thus unto the Biſhop, *My Lord of* Rocheſter, *many of theſe words might have been well ſpared; but I wis, that it is often ſeen that the greateſt Clerks are not alwaies the Wiſeſt men:* the Biſhop replied, *My Lord, I do not remember any Fooles in my time that ever proved great Clerks.*

But

But when the Commons heard of this Speech, they conceived so great displeasure against the Bishop, that they forthwith sent their Speaker, Mr. *Audeley*, to complaine on him to the King, and to let his Highnesse understand how grievously they thought themselves injured thereby, so as to be so highly charged for *lack of Faith*, as if they had been Infidells or Hereticks, &c.

The King therefore, to satisfie the Commons, sent for my Lord of *Rochester* to come before him; being come, the King demanded of him why he spake in such sort; the Bishop answered, that *being in counsel he spake his minde in defence of the Church, whom he saw daily injured and oppressed by the common people whose office it was not to judge of her manners, much lesse to reform them, and therefore* (he said) *he thought himself in conscience bound to defend her in all that lay within his power*; nevertheless the King wished him *to use his words more temperately*; and that was all, which gave the Commons little satisfaction.

CHAP. XIV.

1. *The demand of all the ſmall Abbies within the Land for the Kings uſe.* 2. *The Biſhop of* Rocheſter *oppoſeth the demand in the Convocation houſe.* 3. *The mindes of the Clergie (before ready to condeſcend to the propoſition) altered thereupon.* 4. *The Biſhop of* Rocheſter *eſcaped very narrowly from being poyſoned at his dinner.* 5. *How he eſcaped another danger from the ſhot of a cannon.* 6. *His departure from the place to* Rocheſter.

IMmediately hereupon the foreſaid demand for all the ſmall Abbeys and Monaſteries within the Land (of the value of two hundred pound land and under, to be given to the King) was revived; and the pretence for ſuch demands of the Clergie, was in recompence of the great charges and expences, which the King was at, concerning the Divorce which he was put upon by the falſe and double dealing of the Cardinall and his Clergie,

gie, and therefore it was said to be all the reason in the world, that the Clergie should satisfie the King againe for the great expences he had been at; and this was urged with such importunity, as if the businesse had been called upon by sound of Drummes and Trumpets: In conclusion, they all agreed that certaine of the Kings Counsell should make demands hereof to the Convocation of the Clergy, which was performed with such a terrible shew of the Kings displeasure against them, if they yeilded not to his request, that divers of the Convocation (fearing the Kings indignation, and hoping by a voluntary condescention in these particulars to save the rest) were of a minde to satisfie the King therein, which the Bishop of *Rochester* perceiving, spake as followeth.

My Lords, and the rest of our Brethren here assembled, I pray you to take good heed to what you doe, lest you do you know not what, and what you cannot do: for indeed the things that are demanded at our hands, are none of ours to grant nor theirs to whom we should bestow them, if we should grant them their desires; but they are the Legacies of those testators, who have given them unto the Church for ever, under the penalty of a heavy curse imposed on all those who shall any way go about to alienat

their property from the Church: and besides, if we should grant these smaller Abbeys, &c. to the King, what should we do otherwise than shew him the way how in time it may be lawfull for him to demand the greater? wherefore the manner of these proceedings puts me in minde of a fable, how the Ax (which wanted a handle) came upon a time unto the Wood, making his moan to the great Trees, how he wanted a handle to work withall, and for that cause he was constrained to sit idle; wherefore he made it his requist unto them, that they would be pleased to grant him one of their small saplings within the Wood to make him a Handle, who mistrusting no guile, granted him one of the smaller trees, wherewith he made himself a handle, so becoming a compleat Ax, he so fell to work within the same wood that in processe of time there was neither great nor small tree to be found in the place where the wood stood. And so my Lord, if you grant the King these smaller Monasteries, you do but make him a handle, whereby at his own pleasure he may cut downe all the Cedars within your Libanus, and then you may thank your selves after ye have incurred the heavy displeasure of Almighty God.

This Speech quite changed the mindes of all those which were formerly bent to gratifie the Kings demands herein, so that all was rejected for that time. After

After this the Bishop escaped a very great danger, for one *R. Rose* came into the Bishops kitchin (being acquainted with the Cook) at his house in *Lamb.* Marsh & having provided a quantity of deadly poyson, whiles the Cook went into the buterie to fetch him some drink, he took his opportunity to throw that poyson into a mess of Gruell, which was prepared for the Bishops dinner; and after he had stayed there awhile, went his way: but so it happened, that when the Bishop was called unto his dinner, he had no appetite to any meat, but wished his servants to fall to, and be of good chear, and that he would not eat till towards night: the Servants being set to dinner, they that did eat of that poysoned dish were miserably infected, whereof one Gentleman, named Mr. *Bennet Carwin*, and an old Widow, died sodainly, and the rest never recovered their healths till their dying day. The person that did this wicked deed, was afterwards, for the same offence, boyled alive in *Smithfield*, in the 22. yeare of K. *Henry*'s reign.

Shortly after this, there happened another great danger to him in this same house, by reason of a Cannon bullet that was shot thorough his house, close by his study window (where he was used to spend much

time in Prayer and holy Meditations) which made such a horrible noyse and clutter, as it went thorough, that all the house were suddenly amazed; upon enquiry made from whence this mischief shou'd proceed, it was found out how that it came from the other side of the River, and out of the Earle of *Wiltsheirs* house, Father to the Lady *Anne Bulstein*, which being told unto the Bishop, he called all his Servants before him, and said unto them, *Let us trusse up our baggage and be gone, this is no place for us to abide in any longer*; so he set forwards in his journey towards *Rochester*.

Whether these Conspiracies were contrived by the Kings consent, or privity, it is not handsome to determine, being beneath a Soveraign anger, but rather they do seem to speak a feminine weakness in revenge, however, it is most certain that the K. was highly incensed & spake very many bitter words against him at his table, & elsewhere; which words experience tells us how too great officiousness may often take so large commission from them, as to attempt such things as are beyond the nature of their warrant.

The Bishop, now come to *Rochester*, fell to his old accustomed manner of frequent preaching, visiting the Sick, converting

verting the Seduced, and for his recreation, he would sometimes go and see his workmen whiles they were employed in the reparation of *Rochester* Bridge: upon which he had bestowed great cost; but he had not long remained in those parts, but he was robbed almost of all his Plate by Thieves in the night-time, who brake into his Manour house of *Halling*, neere *Rochester*, which being perceived in the morning by his Servants, they were all in great perplexity, and pursued the thieves as well as they could, and following them thorough the wood, the thieves let fall severall pieces of Plate, through the great hast which they had made in flying, so that they brought some of the Plate back again before the Bishop had heard of the losse of any; but the Bp. coming downe to his dinner, perceived an unwonted kinde of heavinesse and sadnesse in their countenances, insomuch that he asked them what was the matter? they seeming unwilling to relate the story, and looking upon one another who should begin, he commanded them to inform him of the cause of such distraction, assuring them that he was armd for all adventures (deeming it to be some great matter) but when they had given a full relation of

the whole buſineſſe, and how they had recovered ſome of the Plate back again; the Biſh. replyed, *if this be all, we have more cauſe to rejoice that God hath reſtored to us ſome, than to be diſcontented that Wicked men have taken away any. for the leaſt favour of God Almighty is more to be eſteemed than all the evill (which the Devil and all his Wicked inſtruments can doe unto us) is to be valued, wherefore let us ſit down and be merry, thank God it is no worſe, and look ye better to the reſt.*

CHAP.

Chap. XV.

1. *The Kings Agents are returned from* Rome *with ſufficient matter of vexation to the Clergie.* 2. *The King calls another Parliament.* 3. *The Whole Clergie are condemned in a* præmunire. 4. *The King lains hold on that advantage to make himſelf head of the Church.* 5. *The Biſhop of* Rocheſter *his moſt admirable Speech upon that occaſion, whereupon the Propoſition was rejected.* 6. *The King perſiſts in his demand.*

BY this time the Kings Agents, which were ſent to *Rome*, were returned with ſufficient matter wherewith to vex the whole Clergie; for they had learned out how that there had been a priviledge formerly granted from the See of *Rome*, no *Legate de latere* ſhould enter the Realme of *England*, except he were firſt ſent for by the King; now it happened that Cardinall *Wolſey* (either ignorant, or forgetfull of this priviledge, or perhaps thinking he might doe any thing without the Kings conſent, or procurement) procured of, and for himſelfe, the Power le-

legantine from the Pope that then was; but though the Cardinall had exercised that authority for the space of divers yeares, without the Kings consent or privity, yet at the length (perceiving his own errour, and the danger he was in (if the Kings favour, which was no inheritance, should chance to slack its sailes) and perhaps how merrily the wheele of fortune began to turn about) he so wrought (formerly) with the King, that he procured a confirmation thereof under the great Seal of *England*, as well for that which was past, as that which was to come, which the King full well remembring, thought the Cardinall too hard for him; howsoever he was resolved he would be too hard for the Cardinall, and knowing that nothing stood between him and the mark he aimed at, but the reduction of this Cardinall to the *statu quo* wherein he had him once safe enough, he so deales with a servant then belonging to the Cardinall, and in great trust about him, that by his meanes he regained the foresaid ratification under the great Seal, into his own hands, and then to work he went. And

Accordingly he summoned another Parliament to begin upon the 16. day of *February*, in the year of our Lord God 1530. in which Parliament

Parliament divers heinous matters were propounded against the Clergy, as a *præludium* of the winds to the ensuing tempest; then an account was given up in Parliament of 100000 l. charges which the King had been at to obtain so many instruments from forraign Universities concerning the businesse of the Divorce: All which expences they said the King had been at through the falshood and dissimulation of the Cardinall, and certain others of the chief of the Clergie; all which was demanded of the Clergie, that they should make all good unto the King; but when this business began to be propounded to the Convocation of Divines, it was there opposed, & especially by the Lord B. of *Rochester*, who said unto the Kings Orators, that *it was not their faults, as they were there the body representative of the Clergie, that the King had been at any charges at all concerning that businesse, for to his knowledge the Clergie were generally against it, that any such matter should at all be brought in question, and that if any such faulty persons were amongst them, it is fit they should be questioned, and compelled to give his Majesty satisfaction*; Whereupon they all flatly denied upon any such score to make any restitution at all.

Then the King (more furiously than ever) called the whole Clergie into the Kings

Bench

Bench, and ſued the Cardinall, together with the whole Clergie in a *præmunire*, for receiving and acknowledging the power Legantine of the Cardinal: which objection, whiles the Card. thought with as eaſie a grace to waſh off of him, as the proud Swan to ſhide ſo much water off of his back (like the baſtard Eagle called *Haliætus*) he was drowned under the waves (becauſe, like the true Eagle, he poized not his prey before he offered to carry it) by catching after a Fiſh, which was heavier than he could carry; and ſo they were all condemned upon the Statute of King *Richard* the ſecond in a *præmunire*. Thus the K. was put into a capacity of impriſoning whom, or as many of them as he pleaſed, or to enter into, or upon what goods or poſſeſſions of theirs he had a minde unto: whereupon the Clergie firſt fallen under the Kings heavie diſpleaſure, and now not being willing to abide the further danger of his diſpleaſure under his juſtice, ſued unto him for mercy, declaring unto him their willingneſs to pay the 100000 l. upon his indemnity, which the King promiſed unto them, excepting the Cardinall and ſome others. But

The buſineſſe of the Divorce ſtuck ſo indigeſtedly in the Kings ſtomach, that before he would

would either divorce them from their feares, or marry them to their former securities, he wished them all to repair unto their house of Convocation, and there he would propound unto them a businesse, which if they would condescend unto, then they should finde that he would be unto them a gracious Prince; which when they were assembled in the place appointed, such a business was propounded to them, as never was propounded by men since there was a congregation of mankinde, *viz.* that *they should acknowledge the King to be the Supreme Head of the Church* which was propounded chiefly by Mr. *Thomas Audeley*, (who after Sir *Thomas Moore* had given over his place, was created Lord Chancelour of *England*) and that with such mixture of faire promises, and threatnings together, that many of the Convocation thought themselves in a capacity neither of refusing any thing that should be demanded of them by the King, nor of consulting of what was, or was not to be granted; whereupon divers of the Convocation upon scanning of the businesse, were in a readinesse to promote the Kings designe; and few there were that durst open their mouthes to speak their minde freely: Whereupon the *Athanasius* of the Clergie, this Stout Prelate, of whom we treat,

treat, thus took the businesse into consideration.

My Lords, it is true, we are all under the Kings lash, and stand in need of the Kings good favour and clemency; yet this argues not that we should therefore doe that which will render us both ridiculous and contemptible to all the Christian world, and hissed out from the society of Gods holy Catholique Church; for what good will that be to us to keep the possession of our Houses, Cloysters, and Covents, & to lose the Society of the Christian world? to preserve our Goods and lose our Consciences? Wherefore, my Lords, I pray let us consider what We doe, and What it is We are to grant, the dangers and inconveniences that will ensue thereupon, or whether it lies in our powers to grant What the King requireth at our hands, or whether the King be an apt person to receive this power, that so we may go groundedly to work and not like men that had lost all honesty and wit, together with their worldly fortune.

As concerning the first point, viz. What the Supremacy of the Church is, which We are to give unto the King: it is to exercise the spirituall Government of the Church in chief, which according to all that ever I have learned, both in the Gospel, and through the whole course of Divinity, mainly consists in these two points.

1. *In*

1. *In loosing and binding sinners, according to that which our Saviour said unto St.* Peter, *when he ordained him head of his Church, viz. to thee will I give the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven. Now my Lords, can we say unto the King,* tibi, *to thee will I give the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven? If you say I, where is your warrant? if you say no, then you have answered your selves, that you cannot put such keyes into his hands.*

Secondly, the Supreme Government of the Church consists in feeding Christs Sheep and Lambs, according unto that, when our Saviour performed that promise unto Peter, *of making him his universall Sheepherd; by such unlimited jurisdiction, feed my Lambs, and not onely so, but feed those that are the feeders of those lambes, feed my sheep: Now my Lords, can any of us say unto the King,* Pasce oves?

God hath given unto his Church some to be Apostles, some Evangelists, some Pastors, some Doctors, that they might edifie the body of Christ, so that you must make the King one of these, before you can set him one over these, and when you have made him one of these Supreme Heads of the Church, he must be such a Head as may be answerable to all the Members of Christs body; and it is not the few Ministers of an Island that must constitute a Head over

over the Universe, or at least by such example, we must allow as many heads over the Church, as there are soveraigne Powers within Christs Dominion, and then what will become of the Supremacie? every Member must have a head; attendite vobis, *was not said to Kings, but Bishops.*

Secondly, let us consider the inconveniences that will arise upon this Grant; we cannot grant this unto the King, but we must renounce our unity with the See of Rome; *and if there were no further matter in it, than a renouncing of* Clement *the seventh (Pope thereof) then the matter were not so great: but in this we do forsake the first four generall Counsells, which none ever forsook. we renounce all Canonicall and Ecclesiastical Laws of the Church of Christ; We renounce all other Christian Princes; We renounce the Unity of the Christian World, and so leap out of* Peters *ship to be drowned in the wave of all Heresies, Sects, Schismes and Divisions. For*

The first and generall Counsell of Nice *acknowledged* Silv ster (*the Bishop of* Rome) *his authority to be over them, by sending their Decrees to be ratified by him.*

The Counsel of Constantinople *did acknowledge Pope* Damasus *to be their chief, by admitting him to give sentence against the Heretiques,*

tiques, Macidonius, Sabellinus, *and* Eunomius.

The Counsell of Epheſus *acknowledged Pope* Celeſtin *to be their cheif Judge, by admitting his condemnation upon the Heretique* Neſtorius.

The Counsell of Chalcedon *acknowledged Pope* Leo *to be their chief Head, and all generall Counsells of the World ever acknowledged the Pope of* Rome *(onely) to be the Supreme Head of the Church, and now ſhall we acknowledge another Head, or one Head to be in* England, *and another in* Rome?

Thirdly, We deny all Canonicall *and* Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, *which wholy doe depend upon the authority of the Apoſtolicall See of* Rome.

Furthly, We renounce the judgement of all other Chriſtian Princes, whether they be Proteſtants, or Catholiques, Jewes, or Gentiles, for by this argument Herod *muſt have been head of the Church, of the Jewes;* Nero *muſt have been head of the Church of Chriſt; the Emperour muſt be head of the Proteſtant Countreys in* Germany, *and the Church of Chriſt muſt have had never a head till about* 300. *yeares after Chriſt.*

Fifthly, The Kings Majeſty is not ſuſceptible of this Donation: Ozias *for medling with the Prieſts office, was reſiſted by* Azarias, *thruſt out of the Temple, and told that it belonged not to*

his office: now if the Priest spake truth in this, then is not the King to meddle in this businesse; if he spoke amisse, why did God plague the King with leprosie for this, and not the Priest?

King David, *when the Ark of God was in bringing home, did he place himself in the head of the Priests Order? did he so much as touch the Ark, or execute any the least, properly belonging to the priestly function? or did he not rather go before, and abase himselfe amongst the people, and say that he would become yet more vile, so that God might be glorified?*

All good christian Emperours have evermore refused Ecclesiasticall authority; for at the first Generall counsel of Nice, *certaine Bills were privily brought unto* Constantine, *to be ordered by his authority, but he caused them to be burnt, saying,* Dominus vos constituit, *&c. God hath ordained you (Priests) and hath given you power to be Judges over us, and therefore by right in these things we are to be judged by you, but you are not to be judged by me.*

Valentine, *the good Emperour, was required by the Bishops to be but* present *with them to reform the heresie of the* Arians, *but he answered, Forasmuch as I am one of the Members of the Lay-people, it is not lawfull for me to define such controversies, but let the Priests, to whom*

God

God hath given charge thereof, assemble where they will in due order.

Theodosius *writing to the Council of* Ephesus, *saith, It is not lawfull for him that is not of the Holy order of Bishops, to intermeddle with Ecclesiasticall matters: and now shall we cause our King to be head of the Church, which all good Kings have abhorred the very least thought thereof? (and so many wicked Kings have been plagued for so doing) Truly my Lords, I think they are his best friends that dissuade him from it; and he would be the worst enemy to himself, if he should obtain it.*

Lastly, If this thing be, farewell all Unity with Christendome; for as that holy and blessed Martyr, Saint Cyprian *saith, all Unity depends upon that holy See as upon the authority of Saint* Peters *successors; for, saith the same holy Father, all Heresies, Sects, and Schismes, have no other rise but this, that men will not be obedient to the chief Bishop; and now for us to shake off our communion with that Church, either we must grant the Church of* Rome *to be the Church of God, or else a Malignant Church. If you answer, she is of God, and a Church where Christ is truly taught, his Sacraments rightly administred, &c. how can we forsake, how can we flie from such a Church? certainly we ought to be with, and*

not to separate our selves from such a one.

If we answer, that the Church of Rome *is not of God, but a Malignant Church then it will follow, that we the inhabitants of this land, have not as yet received the true faith of Christ; seeing we have not received any other Gospel, any other Doctrine, any other Sacraments, than what we have received from her, as most evidently appears by all the Ecclesiastical Histories: wherefore if she be a malignant Church, we have been deceived all this while, and if to renounce the common Father of Christendome, all the Generall Counsels, especially the first four, which none renounce, all the Countreys of Christendome, whether they be Cathol que Countreys or Protestant, be to forsake the Unity of the Christian World then is the granting of the Supremacy of the Church unto the King, a renouncing of this Unity, a tearing of the Seamlesse coat of Christ in sunder a dividing of the Mystical body of Christ his Spouse limb from limb, and tayle to tayle, like* Sampsons *Foxes, to set the field of Christs holy Church all on fire: and this is it which we are about, wherefore let it be said unto you in time, and not too late,* LOOK YOU TO THAT.

This Speech so wrought with the whole Convocation, that all difficulties were laid aside, and such an armour of resolution generally

rally put upon the whole body there assembled, that come what come would, all was rejected, and the Kings purpose for that time clearly frustrated. But the King desisted not, notwithstanding all this, but sent his Orators to the Convocation-house, to put them in mind of the dangers they were in, and to acquaint them with the Kings heavy displeasure against them, for denying him so reasonable a demand, both which particulars they aggravated and set forth to the highest advantage; but it was answered, that they were sensible enough of that which they had said; and for the Kings displeasure they were very sorrowfull, because they could not help it, wherefore if they must (they said) suffer, they must be contented.

The King having in vain thus attempted the fury of the wind, in bereaving these Travellers of this upper Garment of the Church: he now makes triall what the policy of the Sun will do. Wherefore

The King sent for divers of the chief leading men of the Convocation, as well Bishops as others, to come unto him at his Palace of *Westminster*; at whose first entrance into his presence, he shines upon them such a gracious look, as if all the rayes of Majesty had beene bestowed upon them by that aspect; and

courts them with the softest, mild, and gentlest words, as that possibly he could use, protesting unto them upon the word of a King, that if they would acknowledge and confesse him for supreme head of the Church of *England*, he would never, by vertue of that Grant, assume unto himself any more power, jurisdiction, or authority over them, than all other the Kings of *England*, his predecessors, had formerly assumed; neither would he take upon him to promulge, or make any new spiritual Law, or exercise any spiritual Jurisdiction, or intermeddle himself among them in altering, changing, ordering or judging in any spiritual businesse whatsoever: wherefore (said he) I having made you this frank promise, I expect that you should deale with me accordingly: and so he dismissed them to consider of this businesse amongst themselves, and to give his Orators an account thereof in the house the next morning.

Chap. XVI.

1. *The Bishops consult what course to take.* 2. *The Bishop of* Rochester *proposeth unto them a Parable, whereupon they all break off in confusion.* 3. *The Kings Orators repaire unto the Convocation to know the Clergies finall determination in the businesse.* 4. *The Bishop of* Rochester's *Speech unto the Kings Orators.* 5. *The Orators Reply unto the Bishops Speech.* 6. *The Headship of the Church granted unto the King upon conditions, the conditions rejected, at last accepted of.*

THe Bishops, &c. as soon as they were departed the Kings presence, retired themselves to a place of privacy, to consider with themselves what were best to be done, and what account and advice they should give unto the rest of the Clergie: Some of them were apt enough to think the businesse now pretty faire, seeing that the King had promised fairly; but because my Lord of *Rochester* was the onely man that most stickled

in this buſineſſe, they all asked his opinion herein, in the firſt place; who ſoon anſwered them with this parable, Thus ſtands the caſe my Maſters, the Heart upon a time ſaid unto the Members of the Body, let me alſo be your Head, and I will promiſe you that I will neither ſee, nor heare, nor ſmell, nor ſpeak, but I will cloſe, and ſhut mine eyes and eares, and mouth, and noſtrills, and will excecute no other offices than a meere heart ſhould do; whereupon all hopes of reconciliation upon that truſt and wayes of ſatisfaction was ſoon nipp'd in the bud, and they all broke off in confuſion with ſad hearts,

The next day the Orators came to the houſe of Convocation, to know the Clergies reſolution in the buſineſſe, repeating unto the whole hous the words which the day before his Maj. had ſpoken unto ſome of them, and that over & over: and moreover, ſaying unto them, that if they ſhould now oppoſe themſelves againſt his Maj. this buſineſſe, it muſt needs declare a great miſtruſtfulneſſe which they had in the Kings words, ſeeing he had made unto them ſo ſolemne and high an oath; which words of theirs preſſed ſo home, and followed ſo cloſe, with all the ſpecious arguments, and faireſt promiſes that could be imagined, ſtaggered indeed ſome, but ſilenced all, excepting

cepting him who is the ſubject of this Hiſtory, who (after that he had earneſtly required of the Lords to take good heed what they did, and to conſider the manifold michiefs and inconveniencies that would enſue unto the whole Church of Chriſt (if they ſhould condeſcend to any ſuch requeſt) applying himſelf unto the Kings Orators, he ſpake thus unto them.

It is true, the King was graciouſly pleaſed to proteſt thus and thus: What if the King ſhould alter his minde, where is our remedy? What if the King will execute the Supremacy, muſt we ſue unto the Head to forbeare being Head? Againe, this dignity is inveſted in him, his Succeſſors will expect the ſame, and the Parliament will (queſtionleſſe) annex that dignity to the Crowne: What if a Woman ſhould ſucceed to the Crowne, muſt ſhe be Head of the Church? What if an Infant ſhould ſucceed, can he be Head? This were not only (ſaid he) to make the Church no Church, but the Scripture no Scripture, and at laſt Jeſus to be no Chriſt.

To the which ſayings, the Orators replyed, that the King had no ſuch meaning, as he doubted (repeating againe his royall Proteſtation) and further ſaid, that though the Supremacy were granted unto his Majeſty

Majesty simply, and absolutely, according to his demand; yet it must needs be understood, or so taken, that he can have no farther power or authority thereby, than *quantum per legem Dei licet*; and then if a temporall Prince can have no such authority by Gods Lawes (as his Lordship hath declared) what needeth the forecasting of so many doubts?

The Bishop of *Rochester* (perceiving the whole house to be much affected with their manner of pleading, and fearing that they might desert him in the end, through fear and dread of the Kings displeasure) takes hold upon their last words, and thus speakes unto his Majesties Orators.

Gentlemen, you think that herein we stand too stiff upon our owne legs, but it is not so, but onely in the defence of our owne, and your Mother, the holy Catholique Church, in whose bosome you are, as well as we; and the milk of whose Breasts it is your parts to suck as well as ours, and within whose blessed Communion there is but one Salvation, which is common unto all; wherefore, Gentlemen, let it be your care that our tenderneſſe in this point be not misconstrued to the King: and now, as to this demand, that his Majesty, and you all,

may

may plainly see, that we shall (to please his Majesty) do the uttermost of what lies within our power in that behalf; let all that which his Majesty hath protested, and so solemnly taken his oath upon, be recorded, and the words *quantum per legem Dei licet*, be inserted in the Grant (which is no otherwise than what the King and you your selves have faithfully promised and protested) and for my part it shall be granted. Whereupon the Orators went away as well satisfied, and made a report of all that had happened in the Convocation house unto the King; whereat the King was highly offended, and said unto them. *Mother of God, you have plaid a pretty prank, I thought to have made fooles of them, and now you have so ordered the businesse, that they are likely to make a foole of me, as they have done of you already: goe unto them again, and let me have the businesse passed without any* quantum's, *or* tantum's; *I will have no* quantum's *nor no* tantum's *in the businesse, but let it be done.* Whereupon, immediately they returned to the Convocation house, calling and crying out upon them with open and continuall clamour, to have the Grant pass absolutely, and to credit the Kings honour, who had made unto them so solemne an oath and protestation, falling into disputation with the Bishops,

ſhops, how farre a temporall Princes power was over the Clergie; but the Biſhops ſoon diſputed them into having nothing elſe to ſay, but *Whoſoever would refuſe to condeſcend to the Kings demands herein, was not worthy to be accounted a true and loving ſubject, nor to have the benefit of ſuch a one.* After which, nothing could prevaile, for then the Clergie anſwered with unanimous conſent, and full reſolution, that they neither could, nor would, grant unto the King the Supremacy of the Church, without thoſe conditionall words *quantum per legem Dei licet*, and ſo the Orators departed, relating unto the King all that had paſſed, who ſeeing no other remedy, accepted it with that condition, granting unto the Clergie a pardon for their bodies and goods, paying him 100000 l. which was paid every penny.

CHAP. XVII.

1. *How* Campeius *related the whole buſineſſe of the Divorce unto the Pope, and was blamed for the ſame.* 2. *The King ſends two Doctors of the Civil law with private Commiſſions to treat with the Pope about the Divorce.* 3. *The Pope ſolemnly ratifies the Marriage.* 4. *The Sentence it ſelf.*

BUt we cannot well go on with our Hiſtory, except we firſt arive our diſcourſe within the gates of *Rome*, to obſerve what account Cardinall *Campeius* had given unto the Pope of all theſe proceedings, which was no otherwiſe than what had paſſed directly herein *England*, which being related to his Holineſſe by the Cardinall, the Pope blamed him exceedingly, for that he had not overruled Queen *Katharine*, to have waved her Appeale, whereby the buſineſſe might have been determined within the Kings own Dominions; for which cauſe-ſake he ſent him thither. So ſlippery is the ground whereon Miniſters of ſtate do ſet their feet in any buſineſſe,

neſſe, and ſo uncertaine is the pace wherein they are required to walk, that it is impoſſible for them to know when they go too faſt, and when too ſlow; for the Pope was unwilling (as he might well have perceived) that ſo weighty a cauſe ſhould have reſted upon his determination at ſo great a diſtance: an Embaſſador, who upon occaſion proffered, dares not adventure his owne ruine, ſhall never do his Maſter any notable ſervice; for he that goeth altogether by rule, loſeth advantages; ſomething muſt be left to his diſcretion beſides his Commiſſion, or nothing can be preformed that ſhall exceed an expectation; but hee that wanteth valour knows not how to uſe it, and he that hath it not to uſe, is not fit for ſuch employment.

Campeius was no ſooner arrived in *Rome*, but ſhortly after him followed Doctor *Bonner*, and Doctor *Kean*, two Doctors of the Civill law, and both of them profound men, with ſecret Commiſſions from the King to treat with his Holineſſe, as of themſelves concerning the Divorce; which they did accordingly, and declared unto the Pope, how that all the Biſhops and Clergie of *England* were fully agreed, that the Marriage, &c. was not lawfull; and therefore, that

that his buſineſſe would doe right well, to make a ſeparation between them by his definitive ſentence: the Pope demanded to ſee their Commiſſion and Authority which they had to treat with him; they anſwered, that the King was by this time grown ſomewhat unruly, and that *therefore* what they did, they did it upon their own ſcore, and for the love-ſake which they bare unto the common good of the Catholique Church, and for the peace and unity-ſake thereof. Then the Pope demanded of them to ſee the Certificate under the Biſhops hands, whereby it might appeare that they had ſo conſented: to which they anſwered, that they had no ſuch certificate for the preſent, but that they expected ſuch a certificate daily to come unto them, together with a Commiſſion to treat with his Holineſſe. Whereupon his Holineſſe bad them *expect*.

All this while the King was framing a new Model of a Church, and ſent theſe men over on purpoſe, if it were poſſible, to retard all proceeding at *Rome*, untill ſuch time, as by a new court of Judicature, under a new Supremacy, the Marriage ſhould have been adjudged null, before the Popes ſentence of Ratification (which was feared) ſhould have made it good.

All

All which policies and workings here in *England*, you must not imagine them of *Rome* to be ignorant of.

Wherefore the Pope takes the best and most substantiall advise that could be given him, and calls unto him, not onely his Cardinalls, &c. but the most able Canonists and Divines that could be heard of, and consults with the most famous Universities, procuring the censures of the most famous men that had written of this case; among the rest, the two books of the before-mentioned Dr. *Tunstall* Bishop of *London*, and this our Dr. *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*; (of which last book (if you will believe that reverend and famous Clerk, *Alphonso de castro*) it is said of him to be the most excellent and learned of all other works) and at last, after diligent examination of the businesse, seating himself in his Tribunall seat, and open consistory, by assent and counsel of his Brethren, the Cardinals, pronounced this definitive sentence in the cause: The words begin as followeth:

Clemens

Clemens papa ſeptimus.

Chriſti nomine invocato, in throno juſtitiæ pro tribunali ſedentes, &c. which in Engliſh is thus.

Pope *Clement* the ſeventh.

We invocating the name of Chriſt, and having for our Tribunall the Throne of Juſtice, and the glory of the Almighty God onely before our eyes; by this our definitive Sentence (which by the counſell and aſſent of our venerable Brethren, the Cardinalls of the holy Church of Rome, *aſſembled before us in conſiſtory) we doe in theſe Writings pronounce, decree, and declare, in the cauſe and cauſes, lawfully devolved upon us, and the See Apoſtolique, by an Appeal (brought before us) of our welbeloved Daughter in Chriſt,* Catharine, *Queen of* England,

from the judgements of the Legates, deputed by, and sent from us, and the See Apostolique, between the foresaid Queen Catharine, *and our welbeloved Sonne in Christ,* Henry *the eight, the most illustrious King of* England, *upon the validity and invalidity of the Matrimony between them, contracted and consummated, and upon other matters more largely deduced in the acts of such like cause or causes, and committed to our Son* Paulus Capisuchus, *then Dean of the Causes of our holy Palace, and in his absence to our reverend Father* Symoneta *Bishop of* Pausaria, *supplying the place of one of our Auditors of our said Palace, to be heard, intrusted and in our Consistory to be reported, and by them to us; and the said Cardinalls reported, and maturely discussed during the time of the matter depending before us, that the Matrimony contracted between the said Queen* Catharine, *and K.* Henry *of* England, *with all other consequents of the same, was, and is, Canonicall, and of good force,*

and

and that they may and ought to enjoy to them their due effects, and that the iſſue between them heretofore born, or hereafter to be born, was, and ſhall be, legitimate, and that the foreſaid King Henry, *ought, is, and ſhall be bound and obliged, to cohabit, and dwell with the ſaid Queen* Catharine *his lawfull wife, and to entreat her with all Husbandly affection, and Kingly honour; and that the ſaid King* Henry *is condemned, and by all remedies of Law is to be reſtrained, and compelled, as we do condemn, conſtraine, and compell him, to accompliſh and fulfill all, and ſingular the premiſes effectually; and that the moleſtations and refuſalls by the foreſaid King* Henry, *by any manner of wayes made to the ſaid Queene* Catharine *touching the invalidity of the ſaid Matrimony, and (alwaies from the beginning) were unlawfull, and unjuſt; and that perpetuall ſilence concerning all the foreſaid matters, and the invalidity of the ſaid Matrimony ſhall be enjoyned unto the ſaid* Henry, *and we doe enjoyn*

it; and that the ſaid King Henry *of* England *be condemned, and we doe condemn him, in the expences lawfully made before us and our ſaid Brethren, in ſuch caſe, on the behalf of the ſaid Queen* Catharine; *the Taxation of which Expences we reſerve to our ſelve till another time: So we have pronounced.*

This was publiſhed in the Palace of *Rome*, in open conſiſtory, the 23. of *March* in the year of our Lord God, 1534.

Two men muſt be thanked for this (*Wolſey* and *Fiſher*) and theſe two men muſt be met withall, where by they may receive their payment: for the firſt, we leave him to his owne ſtory, or ſome others on his behalf: The ſecond is the ſubject of my pen, and how they found out him, the following Chapter muſt relate.

CHAP. XVIII.

1. *The various rumour of the people concerning the Divorce.* 2. *The History of the Holy maid of* Kent. 3. *Divers persons of quality executed as traitors concerning her and the Bishop of* Rochester, *&c. convicted of misprision of Treason for the same cause.* 4. *A new Parliament called.* 5. *The Marriage between the King and Queen* Katharine *pronounced null by Archbishop* Cranmer. 6. *A new Oath made and tendred to both houses of Parliament,* &c. *all take it excepting the Bishop of* Rochester.

AT the time when the Kingdome began to be divided (when the King was about to make the Divorce between him and his wife, as the first act of his Supremacy) and to talk too busily, some in favour of the King, but most of the Queen: it happened, that one *Elizabeth Barton*, a young maiden borne in *Kent*, at a place called *Court*, at *Street*, declared unto sundry persons that she had lately received certain Visions and Revelations,

concerning the Kings proceedings in this matter of Divorce; and as she thought, they came from God, and often falling into a trance, she would declare, how that the Kings putting away his wife would be a meanes to bring in Heresie into the Land, and that Heresie, great calamity over the whole Kingdome; that the King, if he did put away his wife, should never have comfort in any other; that whatsoever he did, yet the daughter of this Queen should reign; and because he deprived his mother the holy Catholique Church, of so many children, all his children should die issuelesse, and himselfe comfortlesse, leaving an ignominious name and fame beninde him to the worlds end. To this and the like effect she would utter words, which were too wonderfull to proceed ordinarily from so simple a reputed woman.

First, she communicated these Visions, &c. to one M: *Richard Mayster* Parson of *Aldington* in *Kent*, whose Penitent she was. This *Aldington* advised her to go to Mr. *Edward Bocking* Dr. of Divinity, and a Monk of *Christ-church* in *Canterbury*; a man that was famous, both for Learning and Devotion, who sent for one Mr. *John Deering*, another Monk of the same house; all these advised

vised her to goe to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* Doctor *Warham*, and to take his advise therein, and to follow his direction; who (as it was conceived, being conscious of the great ill-will of the people which he had drawn upon himself, by being so great a furtherer of the Divorce, and of the inevitable changes and alterations in Religion, which he then saw evidently to ensue through his so much compliance with the King) shortly after discoursed with this Maid, died of grief.

After whose departure from this life, the King (by vertue of his Supremacy) appointed *Cranmer* to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This womans fame did so spread it self abroad over the whole Kingdome, as that she was resorted unto by multitudes of people, and called by them *the holy Maid of* Kent, whose vertues were exceedingly extolled by the preachings of Mr. *Henry Gold* Bachelour in Divinity, and a learned man; Father *Hugh Rich* Warden of the Friars Observants in *Canterbury*, and *Richard Risby* of the same house; and having gone her Perambulation to the Charter-house of *London*, and *Sheane*, thence to the Nunnery of *Sion*, and thence to the Friars of *Richmond*, *Canterbury*, and *Greenwich*, at last she came to the King him-

ſelf, and before him declared her minde fully and plainly (with whom, as ſhe had quiet audience, ſo ſhe had peaceable departure) at laſt ſhe came unto the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Dr: *John Adeſon* his Chaplain, and Dr. *Thomas Bell*, ſometimes the Queenes Chaplaine, who, as a rarity, admitted her to come before them to heare what ſhe would ſay, as all men elſe had done; and now (and not till now) was this buſineſſe looked upon as a matter of dangerous conſequence: the Kings Counſel were call'd together to conſult about it, who were divided amongſt themſelves concerning her; ſome were for letting her alone, as knowing not what to make of her; others were for rigour and cruelty to be ſhewed againſt her: in the end forbearance was laid aſide, and ſeverity was to take its place, which ſentenced it to be a traiterous conſpiracy between the Maid and ſome that were chief of the Clergie, to bring the King and his Government into contempt, and hatred with his people, whereby to encourage them to tumults and inſurrections: wherefore the King ſent for his Judges, and certain others which were ſervient to the Law, and propounded the caſe unto them, acquainting them with that which every one had done, deſiring to know their opinions therein: who

ſitting

ſitting in long conſultation, at laſt they made reſult, that *Elizabeth Barton*, *Edward Bockings*, *John Deering* Monks. *Richard Maysters*, *Henry Gold* Prieſts. *Hugh Rich*, and *Richard Ruby* Friars Minors, where all by the Law in caſe of high Treaſon, that my Lord of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Adeſton*, Dr. *Abel*, &c. becauſe they were not the firſt contrivers of the Matter, but concealers of the Thing, were only in the caſe of miſpriſion of Treaſon, *viz.* loſſe of Goods, and impriſonment of their Bodies, during the Kings pleaſure: and thus the King got the opinion of the Judges, but not ſo home (it was conceived) as he expected.

This being done, all the forementioned perſons, opin'd to be within the caſe of high Treaſon, were attached and carried to *Lambeth* before the new Arch-biſhop (*Cranmer*) where, after they had been examined by him, & others of the Commiſſioners, and charged with Treaſon, Fiction, and Hypocriſie, Falſehood, Diſſimulation, and Conſpiracy, Tumults, Rebellion, and Inſurrection: they were all ſent to the Tower. Thus the King got the parties into priſon. Which being done,

The King called a Parliament in the 25. year of his reigne, to be held at *Weſtminſter* upon

upon the 15. day of *January*, where they were all attainted of high Treason, the Maid judged to be hanged and headed at Tyburne, the rest to be hanged and quartered alive; the Bishop of *Rochester*, Dr. *Addison*, Dr. *Abel Thomas*, *Register* to the Archdeacon of *Cant.* and *Edward Thwaites* Gent. convicted of misprision of Treason; of which conviction (being it was no more) the Bishop of *Rochester* for that time, got himself cleared, paying unto the King three hundred pounds.

A little before this Parliament sate, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (*Cranmer*) had decreed (which decree was made at *Dunstable*) that the foresaid marriage solemnized between the King and the Lady *Katharine*, was clearly and absolutely against the Lawes of Almighty God, and that it ought to be accepted, reputed, and taken as of no value or effect, but utterly void to all intents and purposes; and that the Marriage which was to be had and solemnized between the King and the Lady *Anne Bullein*, ought to be taken as undoubtedly true, sincere, and perfect; which Marriage (carrying with it the soveraign importunity of all second Marriages) being compleated, the same Parliament enacted a Statute, which declared the

the eſtabliſhment of the Kings ſucceſſion in the imperiall Crowne, to be upon the iſſue which he was to have by the preſent Queene *Anne*, ratifying whatſoever the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had decreed, and diſinheriting the iſſue which the King had by the foreſaid Lady *Katharine*, from all title to the foreſaid Crowne and Government; or that if any perſon of what ſtate and condition ſoever, ſhall, by writing, printing, or any exteriour Act or Deed, procure, or doe any thing to the prejudice, ſlander, diſturbance, or derogation of the ſaid Matrimony, or the iſſue growing of the ſame, every ſuch perſon ſhall be deemed and adjudged as an high Traitour, and ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as in caſe of high Treaſon is provided; and for the better keeping of this Act, the Kings Majeſty, together with his Counſellours, of their owne authority, framed an Oath upon the breaking up of this Parliament (which was upon the 30. day of *March*) and tendred it the ſame day to all the Lords, both ſpirituall and temporall, as likewiſe to all the Commons, and was to be tendred to whom the Commiſſioners (for the ſame purpoſe) ſhould call before them, the words of which Oath were theſe, *viz.*

Ye

Ye ſhall ſwear to beare Faith, Truth, and all Obedience, onely to the Kings Majeſty, and to his heires of his body, and of his moſt deer and entirely beloved wife Queen *Anne*, begotten, and to be begotten, and further to the heires of our Soveraigne Lord, according to the limitation made in the Statute, for ſurety of his ſucceſſion in the Crown of this Realm, mentioned and contained, and not to any other within this Realme, nor to any other forraign Authority, or Potentate whatſoever: and in caſe any Oath be made, or hath been made by you, to any perſon or perſons, that then ye doe repute the ſame as vaine, and annihilate, and that to your cunning, wit, and utmoſt endeavours, ye ſhall obſerve, keep, maintain, and defend the ſaid Act of Succeſſion: all the whole effects and intents thereof, and all other Acts and Statutes, made in confirmation and for execution of the ſame, or any thing therein contained: and this ye ſhall do againſt all manner of perſons, of what eſtate, dignity, degree, or condition ſoever they be; and in no wiſe do, or attempt, nor to your power ſuffer to be done, or attempted, directly, any thing, or things, privily, or openly, to the let, hindrance, danger, or derogation thereof; or if any part of the ſame, by any manner of meanes, or any

manner

manner of pretences: So help you God, and all his Saints, and the holy Evangelist.

Which Oath, all the Lords, both spirituall and temporall, took, except the Bishop of *Rochester*, who absolutely refused it: So the Parliament was ended. But

The said Bishop had not been 4 daies quiet within his Palace of *Rochester*, but a Letter came to him from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, together with other of the Commissioners, willing him personally to appear before them in the said Archbishops house, by a certain day expressed within the Letter, all excuses set apart. And

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

1. *The Bishop of* Rochester *summoned to appear before the Archbishop of* Canterbury. 2. *Sir* Thomas Moor, *and Dr.* Wilson *committed for refusing the Oath.* 3. *The Bishop of* Rochester *sent to the Tower for the same cause.* 4. *A Parliament is called, wherein the Bishops imprisonment was voted lawfull.* 5. *The Supremacy of the Church conferr'd upon the King, &c. by Act of Parliament, absolutely, and without the former clause.* 6. *An Act of Parliament making it treason to deny the King to be supreme head of the Church.*

NOw was the thing come to passe, which was nothing terrible to him, because it was foreseen: wherefore he first makes his Will, and leaves severall Legacies to divers persons and uses, as to *Michael* house in *Cambridge*, where he received his Education, to St. *Johns* Colledge, to the Poore, to some of his Friends, and to all his Servants, whom he

he leaves weeping behinde him, whiles the reſt followed him (lamenting his condition) in his journey towards *Lambeth*. Paſſing thorough the City of *Rocheſter*, there were a multitude of people gathered together, both citizens and countreymen, to whom he gave his benediction, riding by them all the while bareheaded: ſome crying, that *they ſhould never ſee him again*; others denouncing *woes unto them that were the occaſions of his troubles*; others crying out againſt *the wickedneſſe of the times*, and all of them lamenting and bewailing that which was their miſerie, and his glory: Thus he paſſed on his way till he came to *Sutors hill*, twenty miles from *Rocheſter*, on the top whereof, he reſted himſelf, deſcending from his horſe, and cauſing to be brought before him ſuch victuals as he had cauſed to be brought thither for that purpoſe: he ſaid, *he would now make uſe of his time, and dine in the open aire while as he might*: after which dinner he chearfully took his horſe, and came to *London* the ſame night.

The day of his appearance being come, he preſented himſelfe before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (at *Lambeth*) the Lord *Audely* Chancelour of *England*, *Thomas Cromwell* the Kings Secretary, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, authoriſed under the great Seale of

of *England*, to call before them whom they pleaſed, and to tender unto them the foreſaid Oath (then ſitting at *Lambeth*) where, at the ſame time, the Biſhop met with Sir *Thomas Moore*, who welcomed and ſaluted the Biſhop in theſe termes, *Well met my Lord, I hope we ſhall meet in Heaven*: to which the Biſhop replyed, *This ſhould be the way, Sir* Thomas, *for it is a very ſtrait gate we are in.* There had been Doctor *Wilſon*, ſometime the Kings Confeſſor, who, together with Sir *Thomas Moore*, had both of them refuſed the Oath a little before the Biſhops coming, for which the Knight was committed for the preſent to the cuſtody of the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, as the Doctor had been formerly committed to the Tower of *London*; at which time alſo, the Clergie of *London* were warned to appeare about the ſame buſineſſe, who all of them took the Oath at the ſame time: Then was it that the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was called before the Archbiſhop, &c. who (putting the Biſhop in remembrance of the Act which was made by the late Parliament (which had provided an Oath to be adminiſtred to all perſons within this Realm, concerning the eſtabliſhment of the Succeſſion, &c.) how all the Lords, both ſpirituall and temporall, had taken the ſaid Oath, onely him

himself excepted, how grievously his Majesty was offended with him therefore, how he had given strict charge to himself and the rest of the Commissioners, to call him before them, and to tender unto him the Oath once more, presented unto him the Oath, laying it before him, and demanded of him what he would say thereto: the good man perusing it awhile, requested that he might have some time to consider upon it; the Commissioners consulting with themselves awhile, granted him five daies to consider upon it, and so dismissing him for the present: whence he departed to his owne house in *Lambeth Marsh*.

During which small time of his abode there, there came divers of his friends, rather to take their leaves of, than to visit him: among which, one Mr. *Seton*, and Mr. *Bransby*, Substitutes of the Masters and Fellows of the two Colledges, to which he had shewed himself so much their friend, partly to salute him in the name of the two Societies, and partly to desire his confirmation of their Statutes under his Seale which he had drawn long before; but the Bishop desired to have some further time to consider of them, as he intended; alas, said the two Gentlemen, we fear your time is now too short to read them be-

fore you go to prison; *It is no matter*, said the Bishop, then *I will read them in prison*: that will hardly be permitted (said the Trustees) if you come once there; *then Gods will be done* (said the Bishop) *for I shall hardly be drawn to put my seale to that which I have not well considered of*; howsoever (said he) if the worst should happen, there is Mr. *Cowper* (a worthy reverend man, and a Bachelour in Divinity) that hath the copy of the same Statutes, which I have, if I do not, or cannot, according to my desire, peruse them, I will give it you under my Seale, that if you like them that shall be unto you a confirmation; for I am perswaded, that one time or other, those Statutes will take place; and accordingly it hapned, for when this Master *Cowper* (long after the imprisonment and death of the Bishop of *Rochester*, and the change and alteration of the times, which had made Religion, Lords, and Lawes, all new) committed this Book of Statutes to the custody of one M. *T: Watson* (a man that afterwards came to great honor & estimation for his profound learning, & was afterwards elected to the Mastership of S. *John's* Colledge, and afterwards to the Bishoprick of *London*) who (as the Bishop of *Rochester* foretold) restored them to the house, who admitted them

them as their onely Lawes whereby they were wholy governed, during the reign of Queen *Mary*.

The time being come when the good Bishop was to give an account of the Premisses, he presented himself before the Commissioners, acquainting them how that he had *perused the Oath with as good deliberation as he could: but as they had framed it, he could not (with any safety to his owne conscience) subscribe thereto, except they would give him leave to alter it in some particulars, whereby his owne conscience might be the better satisfied: The King pleased, and his actions rather justified, and warranted by Law.*

To this they all made answer, that *the King would not in any wise permit that the Oath should admit any exceptions or alterations whatsoever*, and (said the Bishop of *Canterbury*) *you must answer directly, whether you will, or you will not subscribe*; then (said the Bishop of *Rochester*) *if you will needs have me answer directly, my answer is, that forasmuch as my own conscience cannot be satisfied, I absolutely refuse the Oath.* Whereupon he was immediately sent to the Tower of *London*, which was upon Tuesday, the 26. of *April* in the year of our Lord God, 1534. and upon the 25. year of the Kings reign, being the last of his reign for that year.

Thus the *Remora* to the Kings proceedings (in this kind) being removed, the Ship went merrily along; for all things being fitted for a Parliament, there was a Parliament which was fitted for all things immediately called, upon the 26. year of the Kings reign, and upon the 23. day of *Novemb.* which wrought above *nine* wonders, lasting but *fifteen* daies, wherein the Bishop of *Rochester's* imprisonment was voted lawfull, and all other men their imprisonments good and lawfull, that should refuse to take the foresaid Oath (which authority before was wanting) also another Statute was enacted, whereby the Supremacy of the Church of *England* was given unto the King, his Heires and Successors, to have and enjoy the same, as a title and stile to his imperiall Crown, with all Honours, Jurisdictions, Authorities, and Priviledges thereunto belonging, with full power and authority, as himselfe listeth, to visit, represse, redresse, reforme, order, correct, restraine, and amend all Heresies, Abuses, Errors, and Offences, whatsoever they were, as fully and as amply as the same might, or ought to be, done, or corrected, by any spirituall authority or jurisdiction whatsoever, and that without the clause or condition of *quantum per legem Dei licet*, which was as contrary to the Kings

Kings promiſe to the Convocation-houſe, as it was anſwerable to what the good Biſhop forewarned the Clergie of, whiles he ſate amongſt them. And thus whiles the King acted the Pope, the Biſhop became a Prophet.

This Act being once paſſed, the King required them to paſſe another Act, *viz.* That if any manner of Perſon whatſoever, ſhould, by word or deed, preſume to deny the title of Supremacy, that then every ſuch perſon ſo offending, ſhould be reputed and adjudged as an high Traitour, and ſuffer and abide ſuch loſſes and paines, as in caſes of high Treaſon is provided.

CHAP.

Chap. XX.

1. *The King ſends divers learned Biſhops to perſwade with the Biſhop of* Rocheſter *to take the Oath.* 2. *The Biſhop of* Rocheſter *anſwers unto the Biſhops.* 3. *Sir* Thomas Moore *committed to the ſame priſon.* 4. *The comfort which they received in each other.* 5. *Their letters intercepted, and the Biſhops man committed to cloſe priſon therefore.* 6. *The ſimple, yet merry queſtion, which he made thereupon.* 7. *The Lord Chancelour with divers other great Lords ſent by the King to perſwade the Biſhop.*

BUt when that buſineſſe came to be diſcuſſed in the Parliament-houſe, the Commons themſelves began to think it a very hard Law, and full of rigour; for (ſaid they) a man may chance to ſay ſuch a thing by way of diſcourſe, or ſuch a word may fall from a man negligently, or unawares; all of them as yet not otherwiſe able but to think it a ſtrange thing, that a man ſhould die for ſaying *the King was not the head of the Church*: which

which debate held them many daies; at laſt the King ſent them word, that except it could be proved that the party ſpake it *malitiouſly*, the Statute ſhould not be of any force to condemn: So the word *MALICIOUSLY* was put in, and it paſſed currently, which afterwards ſerved to as much purpoſe, as the words *Quantum per legem Dei licet*. And

During the Biſhops hard and cloſe impriſonment, the King (as he had at ſeveral other times ſo done) ſent divers of the Privie-councel (as well Biſhops as others) to perſwade the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* to take the oath of Succeſſion: after that the Biſhop had ſuffered a great deale of Rhetorique to come from them, he thus ſpake unto them:

My very good friends, and ſome of you my old acquaintance, I know you wiſh me no hurt, but a great deale of good; and I doe believe, that upon the termes you ſpeak of, might have the Kings favour as much as ever. Wherefore, If you can anſwer me to one queſtion, I will perform all your deſires. What's that my Lord, ſaid one, and all of them? It is this, ſaid the Biſhop, *What will it gain a man to win the Whole world, and to loſe his own ſoule?* Whereupon, after ſome little talk, to no purpoſe, they all left him; ſome

of them wishing (for their owne security) that either they had him in the same danger that they were in, or else that they were endued with the same constancy of minde that he was of: Now the same God which refused him comfort in his Visitants, sent him the consolation of a fellow Sufferer, which was Sir *Thomas Moore*, the fame of the world, who was now sent to the same prison where he was, and for the same cause; whereat he seemed to conceive no small joy; to whom, as soon as opportunity would give leave, he sent (by his man) his most loving and hearty commendations, and received the like from him: between whom (to their comforts) there passed sundry Letters for a while, untill such time that there was notice taken thereof, and one of their Letters intercepted, and carried to the Kings Councel; which being read, although there was not in any part of it the least part of evil, yet was it taken in evil part; and a great charge was given unto their Keepers to restraine them from that liberty.

The Bishops man being clapt up a close prisoner, and threatned to be hanged (for carrying Letters to Sir *Thomas Moore*) asked the Keeper if there were *another Act of Parliament come forth, whereby a man should be hanged for serving his Master?* Which coming

ming from a man that was so noted for simplicity, set them into such a laughter, that after a little examination, as how many Letters he had carried, &c. he was set at liberty, with a strict charge given him, that he should carry no more Letters.

After the King had tried all other waies, he sent the Lord Chancelour *Audely*, together with the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earle of *Wiltshire*, Secretary *Cromwell*, and divers others of the Councel, to the Bishop of *Rochester*, to certifie him of the new Law that was lately made concerning the Kings Supremacy, and the penalty thereof to them that should gainsay it, or withstand it; and to know, in his Majesty's name, whether he would acknowledge it (as the rest of the Lords, both spirituall and temporall, had done) or not: to which the Bishop, after some pause, replied unto them, *My Lords, you present before me a two-edged sword for if I should answer you with a disacknowledgement of the Kings Supremacy, that would be my death; and if I should acknowledge the same, perhaps contrary to my owne conscience, that would be assuredly unto me worse than death; Wherefore I make it my humble request unto you, that you would beare with my silence, for I shall not make any direct answer to it at all.* Whereupon the Com-

Commiſſioners were nothing ſatisfied, but urged him more and more to anſwer one way or other, directly telling him how diſpleaſing ſuch kinde of ſhiftings will appeare unto his Maj ſty, how much the King was formerly diſpleaſed with his correſpondence with Sir *Thomas Moore*; wherefore, ſaid the Lord Chancelour, if you ſhould now thus uſe him, you would exaſperate his grievous indignation againſt you more and more, and give him juſt cauſe to think that ye deal more ſtubbornly with him, than well becomes the duty of a good Subject.

To which the Biſhop replied, That as concerning the Letters which had paſſed between him and Sir *Thomas Moor*, he wiſhed with all his heart they were now to be read; which if they were (ſaid he) they would declare more innocence than hurt on our behalfe, moſt of them being onely friendly ſalutations, and encouragements to patience. Indeed I was a little curious (knowing the great learning and profound wit that is in the man) to know what anſwer he had made to the queſtions which were asked him concerning the Statute, which anſwers he ſent unto me, as I had ſent unto him mine: And this is all the conſpiracy that was between us, upon that conſcience which I ſuffer for, and will ſuffer

a thouſand deaths, before ever it ſhall be called upon by me to juſtifie the leaſt untruth: And whereas you tell me, that his Majeſty will be much diſpleaſed with me for this doubtful kind of anſwer: truly, my Lords, no man ſhall be more ſorry for the Kings diſpleaſure, than he that tells you he is ſorry to diſpleaſe the King: but when the caſe ſo ſtands, that (in ſpeaking) I cannot pleaſe him, except I diſpleaſe Almighty God, I hope his Majeſty will be well ſatisfied with my ſilence.

Then ſaid Mr. *Cromwell*, Wherein do you (more than other men, who have ſatisfied the Kings deſires herein) think you ſhall diſpleaſe Almighty God? *Becauſe* (ſaid the Biſhop) *I know how my own conſcience dictates to me, but do not how anothers may inform him.* If your conſcience be ſo ſetled, ſaid my Lord Chancelour, I doubt not but you can give us ſome good reaſons for it. *Indeed my Lord* (ſaid the Biſhop) *I think I am able to give your Lordſhips reaſons that perhaps may ſeem ſufficient why my conſcience ſtands affected as it doth, and could be well contented that you heare them, could I declare my minde with ſafety, and without offence unto his Majeſty, and his Laws.* After which not a word more was ſpoken for that time; but calling for the Lieutenant,

they

they re-delivered him unto his cuſtody, giving the Lieutenant a ſtrict charge that no further conference, or meſſages, ſhould paſs between him and Sir *Thomas Moore*, or any other.

All which being related to the King upon their returne to Court, the King ſwore they were all fooles, and asked them if there were not more waies to the wood than one: they told his Majeſty that they had tried all the waies that they could finde or think upon, adviſing his Maj. to ſend ſome of his own Coat unto him, to perſwade him further, as thinking it more proper for them: but the King ſwore *Mother of God, both* Moore *and he ſhould take the Oath, or he would know why they ſhould not*, and they ſhould make them do it, or he would ſee better reaſons why they could not; wiſhing them to ſee his face no more, untill it were done.

Chap. XXI.

1. *The notable ſlights which the Councel uſed to procure the two Priſoners* (Fiſher *and* Moore) *to take the Oath.* 2. *The King ſends the moſt grave and learneſt Biſhops unto him.* 3. *How the Biſhops Man ſet upon his Maſter to perſwade him, after ſuch time as the Biſhops were gone, and could not prevaile with him.* 4. *Biſhop* Fiſher *is created Cardinall by* Paul *the third, Pope of* Rome. 5. *The Cardinalls Hat was ſent as far as* Callis. 6. *The King ſends to ſtop it from coming any further.*

THe Lords were by this time put to their trumps, and to uſe their wits, how they might bring this thing to paſſe: wherefore the next morning they ſent for Sir *Thomas Moore* to come to Court, and after they had kept them there three houres waiting upon them, they admitted him into their preſence, and cauſing the Doore to be cloſe ſhut, they diſcourſed with

with him about half an houre, the main subject of the discourse being to perswade him to conformity, and compliance with the King in these demands, and to assure him how graciously (thereupon) he should be received into the Kings favour, and accustomed good opinion of him: but all being in vain, he was detained in safe custody within the Court, and a strict charge was given that he should not speak with any man, and that none should be permitted to speak to him. This being done, it was given out, that Sir *Thomas Moor* had taken the Oath, so that all men believed it. This done, they sent for the Bishop of *Rochester* the same day, and urged him very sorely to take the Oath of Supremacy, saying, that he (resting himself wholly upon Sir *Thomas Moore*, by whose perswasion he stood out so stifly against the King) had now no reason but to do as he had done, who shewing him now the way, they all expected him to doe no otherwise than to follow the good example which he had given him, and be received into the like grace and favour with the King, as his fellow-prisoner was at that time received: the good Bishop hearing as much before, and now those Lords justifying as much as he had heard, believed no less, and seemed to be much troubled thereat, and

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ſorrowfull for his ſake; but in the end, he thus ſpake unto the Lords, *My Lords, I confeſſe I am a little perplexed at that which you now tell me, which is no more than what I have heard already, am exceeding ſorrowfull that that courage ſhould now be wanting to him which I once thought never would have failed him, and that conſtancy had not been an addition to all his other great and ſingular vertues:* But I am not a fit man to blame him, in regard I was never aſſaulted with thoſe ſtrong temptations (meaning of wife and children) the which, it ſeemes, at laſt, have overcome him; however, becauſe ye ſay I wholly depend upon his judgement, and ſtood out by his perſwaſions, I know not how better to let you know how much you were deceived with that opinion, than to let you ſee how I now ſtand to the ſame ground upon my own legs, which formerly I ſtood upon; wherefore now I here tell you plainly (as concerning the Oath) that as I will not ſay any thing againſt it, ſo I cannot in any wiſe poſſibly take it, except I ſhould utterly make ſhipwreck of my ſoule and conſcience; and then I were fit neither to ſerve God nor Man. Which having peremptorily declared, he was commanded to be withdrawn, and kept cloſe within a chamber of the Court, which led towards the Kings lodgings:

lodgings; and it was likewise given out, that the Bishop had subscribed to, and taken the oath of Supremacy, and that he was then conducted to the King to kisse his hand.

In this interim, it hapned that Mrs. *Margaret Roper*, (the darling daughter to Sir *Thomas Moore*, one that had much accesse unto the Lords by reason of her great friends and manifold perfections) was at the same time at the Councel doore, with a Petition in her hand, thinking to deliver it unto the Lords in the behalf of her Father, to procure him more enlargement within the Tower, than what he formerly had enjoyed; and hearing of her Fathers being there, was resolved to inform her self of the event of that daies Conference; which the Lord Chancellour *Audely* perceiving, and knowing her businesse, went out unto her, and thus thought to perswade how the daughters thimble might prick a needle into the fathers conscience, *viz.* Mrs. *Roper*, I am sorry I can doe you no more service, in that which you so earnestly solicite in your fathers behalfe: truly Mrs. *Roper* your father is to blame to be so obstinate, and self-will'd, in a businesse wherein no man in the whole Realm stands out but onely he, and a blinde Bishop, and yet that bishop was not so blinde, but at the

the last, with much adoe, we have brought him to see his own error; with that Mrs. *Margaret* gave a spring for joy, and asked him, Are you sure that my Lord of *Rochester* hath taken the Oath? Yes, said the Lord Chancellour; and more than that, he is now with the King, and you will see him at liberty, and in great favour with the King; then I will warrant you, said the poore Gentlewoman, that my Father will not hold out: Go, said the Lord Chancelour, and perswade your Father (that he doe not) before he be brought before us; for I wish him well, and it is a great pity that such a man as he should be cast away. Away goes Mrs. *Margaret* to her father, but could not be admitted to speak with him; back she comes to the L. Chan. and procures his warrant of admittance: in she comes unto her father, & tells him all that she heard with a great deal of confidence; when her father had heard all that she would say, he onely answered her with a soft voice, *peace daughter, my L. of* Rochester *hath not taken the Oath:* yes indeed father, it is so, said his daughter, for my L. Chancelor told me as much with his own mouth, who wisheth you well, and my L. of *Rochest.* is at liberty, and is now with the K. and in great favour: Away, away, *you foole, said Sir* Tho: Moore, *thou art not used to these*

ſleights, I know the tricks of them all, they think to take me in a Poppet ſnatch, but they are deceived; and I tell thee more, if the Biſhop had taken the Oath, yet it ſhould never be taken by me: A Biſhop is a corrector of Vice, but no preſident for Sin. After they had had much talk to this, and no purpoſe, Sir *Thomas Moore* was ſent for to appeare before the Lords, where he was no ſooner entred the Room, but they all called upon him to do as my Lord of *Rocheſter* had done before him; all of them uſing no other arguments, but my Lord of *Rocheſter*, my Lord of *Rocheſter*, as my Lord of *Rocheſter* had ſhewed him a good example; Sir *Thomas Moor* asked them where my Lord of *Rocheſter* was? ſaying, that if he could but ſpeak with my Lord of *Rocheſter*, it may be his motives might induce him to take the Oath; they told him that my L. of *Roch.* was where he might alſo be, *viz.* with the King, if that he would do but as he hath done: May I not ſpeak with him, ſaid Sir *Thomas Moor*, before I take this Oath? They anſwered, that he ſhould ſpeak with him as ſoon as ever he had taken it, but to ſpeak with him before, was not ſo proper, becauſe then it would be ſaid he pinn'd his judgement upon anothers ſleeve, neither would they wiſh him to deſire it, in regard that the King would then have

cauſe

cauſe to thank the Biſhop, and not him, for ſuch his condeſcention; and beſides, that would be too great a ſlighting of us that are here, in that you will not take our words for ſuch a buſineſſe: I pray you then, ſaid Sir *Thomas Moore*, let me ſee his hand, if he have ſubſcribed: That ſaid the Chancelour, is carried alſo with him to the King: Then let me tell you, ſaid Sir *Thomas Moore*, that I do not believe that my Lord of *Rocheſter* hath either ſubſcribed his hand, or taken the Oath; and if he had done both, I could do neither. Whereupon they were both ſent back to the Tower.

The King (ſeeing theſe engines would not hold) betook himſelf to the advice which the Lords had formerly given him, and he refuſed to take, *viz.* of ſending unto him men of his owne Coat, to perſwade with him in this buſineſſe; wherefore he ſent for Dr. *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*; *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; Dr. *Tunſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, and commanded them to repaire immediately unto their Brother of *Rocheſter*, and ſee what they could do, and ſee they did it; for he would have it done. Theſe men (knowing there was no mercy to be had, if they did not do their uttermoſt endeavour, at the leaſt to give the King all manner of ſatisfaction

herein) went to the Tower and dealt heartily with the Bishop in that business.

But before I will tell you what answer the Bishop made unto their importunities therein (that you may the better know the miseries of those times) you shall first understand that these very men (after that this good man was dead and rotten) perceiving this Supremacy to exercise its authority more and more, untill at last it came to alteration of their Religion in point of Doctrine) would often weep most bitterly, and careless of themselves, wish that they had stuck to their Brother *Fisher*, and not to have left him wholly to himself, as wickedly they did, and not onely so, but they would preach the same openly in their Pulpits, and upon all other occasions, and times of meeting, and that before the Lords of the Council, and sometimes in the Kings hearing, which drew great commiseration from their hearers, and at last the King himself to serious animadversions of what he had done, and at last to a rectification of what he thought he had done amisse, by his speedy enjoying of the six maine Articles of Catholick Religion (which these Bishops penn'd themselves) to be propounded unto all his Subjects & to be subscribed unto, in which Religion the K. died, and in the reign

of

of K. *Edw.6.* (when the Supremacy was held in a Subjects hand over a childs head, being then convented before the Kings Commissioners, and there urged to proceed according to the fruits of those times) they did not onely recant their former doings, but suffered themselves to be deprived of so great dignities, and to endure the same prison, where, for the space of five years, they had no other comfort but the expectation of that Martyrdome, which might be an expiation to them of those errors, which fear and worldly vanity, had caused them to run into; which resignation of themselves so willingly into the hands of Almighty God, was answered with a mercy, which restored them unto their former liberties, dignities, and honours, in the beginning of the reign of Qu. *Mary*. But to return to my former story.

When these men had perswaded the good Bishop all they could, to do what their owne conscience told them should not have been done, the good Bishop made them this reply.

My Lords, it doth not grieve me so much to be urged so sorely in a business of this nature, as it doth wound me grievously that I should be urged by you, whom it concerns as much as me; alas I do but defend your cause, whiles you so plead against your selves; it would better become us all to stick

together in repreſſing the violences and injuries, which daily are obtruded upon our holy mother the Catholique Church, whom we have all in common, than thus divided amongſt our ſelves to help on the miſchief: but I ſee judgement is begun at the houſe of God; and I ſee no hope, if we fall, that the reſt will ſtand; you ſee We are beſieged on every ſide, and the fort is betrayed by thoſe who ſhould defend it: and ſince We have made no better reſiſtance, We are not the men that ſhall ſee an end of theſe calamities: Wherefore I pray leave me to Almighty God, in Whom only there is comfort, which no man can deprive me of; and for that you have ſo often told me of the Kings heavy diſpleaſure againſt me, I pray remember my duty to his Grace, and tell him, I had rather exerciſe the duty that I owe unto his Grace, in praying for him, than in pleaſing him in this kinde. So they departed from him with heavy hearts, and ſad countenances, and never came unto him any more.

Within a while after, that the Biſhops were thus gone, the poore fellow (his man) that waited upon him, being ſomewhat ſimple, and hearing all the diſcourſe, began to take his Maſter in hand, thinking he had not got reaſon enough to ſpeak thus unto his Lord and Maſter, Alas my Lord, why ſhould you

ſtick

ſtick (ſaid he) with the King, more than the reſt of the Biſhops, which are learned and godly men? Doubt ye not, he requireth no more of you, but onely that you would ſay he is Head of the Church; and methinks that is no great matter; for your Lordſhip may ſtill think as you pleaſe: whereat the Biſhop fell into ſuch a fit of laughter, that he little thought he ſhould have laughed ſo much ſo long as he had a day to live: but the man taking courage at this, began to proſecute his begun diſcourſe in a manner which he thought more ſerious, which the Biſhop cut ſhort with this compoſure of jeſt and earneſt, *Tuſh, tuſh, thou art but a foole, and knows but little what belongs to this buſineſſe; but hereafter thou maiſt know more. Alas poore fellow, I know thou loveſt me, and ſpeakeſt this out of ſimplicity and love together; but I tell thee, it is not onely for the Supremacy that I am thus toſſed and tumbled, but alſo for another Oath* (meaning the Oath of Succeſſion) *which if I would have ſworn unto, I believe I ſhould never have been much queſtioned for the Supremacy; nor is it for theſe two that I ſtand out, but for the enſuing evills, that muſt neceſſarily follow hereupon: And this thou maiſt ſay another day thou haſt heard me ſpeak, when I am dead and gone.*

¶ Upon the 21. of *May*, and in the yeare of our Lord 1535: *Paul* the third, Pope of *Rome* (hearing the fame of this good Bishops constancy, and sufferings, in defence of the Catholique Church) at the solemn creation of Cardinalls in *Rome*, in the first yeare of his consecration (among divers other worthy and famous men) he nominated this good Bishop *Fisher* for one that should be made a Cardinall, where, upon the same day before specified, he also was intituled, *Sanct. Ro. Ecclesiæ tituli Sancti vit. pretriter Cardinalis.* This the Pope did for his great worth, and merits sake, thinking that by reason of the dignity and advancement of so high a degree of eminence, that either the King would use him with more clemency for his dignity sake, or else that he might thereby heap further trouble and danger upon the King, if notwithstanding that dignity, he continued such his displeasure against him: and this was it that clean threw him over the perch, and brought him a fiery chariot to his journies end, whirl'd by all the furious winds of rage and madness; for upon the sending of the Cardinalls Hat to him from *Rome*, which was intended to have been performed with the greatest ceremony that ever any Hat was sent from thence (taking no notice of the condition he was in) whereby

whereby it was conceived, that the King would reflect within himself, and take some heed how he offended so great a body as had the Universe for its Dimension: but it fell out otherwise, for *Harry* the 8. (for all the other Kings were called *Henries*) with his dagger, was resolv'd to go thorough-stitch with what he had begun; wherefore, as soon as ever he had intelligence hereof, he sent immediately to *Calis* to stop the favour of the Pope, from coming any further into his Dominions, untill his pleasure therein was further known, which was done accordingly.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

1. *The K. ſends his Secretary to the Bp. to know of him, that in caſe the Pope ſhould ſend unto him a Cardinalls Hat, whether he would accept of it, or not.* 2. *The Biſhops anſwer thereunto.* 3. *The King highly offended with his anſwer.* 4. *A notable, but moſt wicked policy, to entrap the Biſhop within Delinquency.* 5. *A Commiſſion to enquire and determine Treaſons.* 6. *Three Monks of the Charter-houſe executed.*

IMmediately hereupon, the King ſent Mr: *Thomas Cromwell* his Secretary, to this good Father, thus in priſon, to advertiſe him what was done, and to heare what he would ſay thereto; who (being come into the Priſoners chamber) after ſome other conference had paſſed between them, concerning divers other buſineſſes, he ſaid unto him, My Lord of *Rocheſter*, what would you ſay if the Pope ſhould ſend you a Cardialls Hat, would you accept of it? whereat the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* replyed, *Sir I know my ſelf to be ſo far unworthy*

worthy of any such dignity, that I think of nothing lesse; but if any such thing should happen, assure your self I should improve that favour to the best advantage that I could, in assisting the holy Catholique Church of Christ, and in that respect I would receive it upon my knees.

Mr. *Cromwell* making a report of this answer (afterwards) to the King, the King said with great indignation, *Yea, Is he yet so lusty? Well, let the Pope send him a Hat when he will, Mother of God he shall weare it on his shoulders then, for I will leave him never a head to set it on.*

And now was this impregnable piece of Constancy, and strong fort of Innocence, surrounded on every side, by the most watchfull eyes, and diligent enquiry, how a breach may be made into it by the battery of the new Law, for prejudice to enter. In order to which Machination it was resolved upon (after that the blessed man had continued a prisoner (within the Tower) the space of a whole yeare, and somewhat more) that one Mr. *Richard Rich* (then Solicitor generall, and a man in great trust about the King) should be sent unto the Bishop, as from the King, upon some secret message, to be imparted to him on his Majesties behalf; which Message was to this effect, *viz.* That he had a great secret

to

to impart unto him from the King, which was a case of Conscience; for, said he, the truth is, my Lord, that though you are lookt upon (as you now look upon your selfe) as a man utterly forlorne, yet I must tell you, and not as from my self, but as a thing uttered to you by the Kings expresse commands, that there is no man within the Kings dominions, that he looks upon, as a more able man, or a man upon whose honesty and upright dealings he will more rely, than on your self, and what you shall be pleased to say in that behalfe; wherefore he bids me tell you, that you should speak your minde boldly and freely unto me, as to himselfe, concerning the businesse of Supremacy, protesting upon his royall word, and the dignity of a King, that if he should tell him plainly it were unlawfull, he would never undertake it: And one thing more (said he) he wished me to acquaint you with, which is, that you may see how farre his royall heart, and pious inclination, is from the exercise of any unjust or illegall jurisdiction thereby, that if you will but acknowledge his Supremacy, you your selfe shall be his *Vicar generall* over his whole Dominions, to see that nothing

shall

ſhall be put in execution, but what ſhall be agreeable both to the Lawes of God, and good mens liking: but (ſaith he) the K. thinks that whiles his people acknowledge any other Head beſides himſelfe, his Crowne ſits not ſafe nor rightly upon his owne: Wherefore I pray, my Lord, ſince the King hath been ſo graciouſly pleaſed to open his breaſt unto you in theſe particulars, that you will anſwer the reſpect with an ingenuity that ſhall be ſuitable to ſuch high favour, and that without any the leaſt ſuſpition of any fraud or guile intended to your good Lordſhip, either by him or me.

The poore Biſhop thinking he had aſſurance enough in conſcience, when for Conſcience-ſake his opinion was required in ſuch and ſuch matters, anſwered thus freely.

Worthy Sir, As to thoſe high Commendations which his *MAJESTY* (by your own mouth) is pleaſed to give me, I think them higher than what deſervedly can ſtoop ſo low to take into due conſideration; ſo meane worth as that which every one muſt look to finde, that makes true ſearch into me; however, according to the ability

ability and faithfulneſſe which is reſident in this poore piece of earth, I ſhall anſwer freely, and without feare of any other intentions towards me, than what is juſt and honourable.

As to the buſineſſe of Supremacy I muſt needs tell his Majeſty, as I have often told him heretofore, and would ſo tell him, if I were to die this preſent hour, that it is utterly unlawfull; and therefore I would not wiſh his Majeſty to take any ſuch power or title upon him, as he loves his own ſoule, and the good of his poſterity; for it will be ſuch a preſident as none will follow, whiles all will wonder at it, and will never leave this Land till it lies buried with the firſt power that firſt aſſumed it: And to what purpoſe were it to make me his Vicar generall of his whole Dominions, to ſee that nothing were done contrary to the Lawes of God, when nothing is more contrary to Gods Law, than that I ſhould be ſo?

And as to his Majeſty's conception of his Crown, not ſitting rightly upon his head, whiles his people (as ſo many half Subjects) owne any other head beſide himſelfe; I muſt tell you, my Lord, that ſuch a kinde of headſhip is no more prejudiciall to the temporall Supremacy, than judgement (which is the

the top of the ſoule) is inconvenient to the intellects: for I muſt tell you (my Lord) there were never any greater ſtayes, or ſupporters to any Crown, than were your Engliſh Catholiques all along unto the Crown of *England*, and that even againſt all, or any the leaſt encroachment offered or attempted to be made, even by the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf, as you ſhall find in the Statute Lawes of King *Richard* the ſecond, where you ſhall finde (in many buſineſſes wherein the Pope of *Rome* himſelf was intereſſed) the Roman Catholiques flatly denying the Crown of *England* (which they averred *ſtoutly* immediately to be ſubject unto none but God, and to other in all things touching the regality of the ſaid Crowne) to be ſubject to the Pope of *Rome*, and yet the very ſame Parliament (ſaid the Biſhop) at the ſame time acknowledged the Biſhop of *Rome* (in reſpect of his ſpirituall juriſdiction) to be their *moſt holy Father*. And

Stat. King *Rich.* 2.

This the Author aſſures the Reader to be taken notice of by Biſhop *Bilſon*, where he brings in this Parliament (conſiſting then altogether of Roman Catholicks)

B. *Bilſ.* in his true difference between Chriſtian & Anti-chriſtian Rebellion. part 3. pag. 243. 244.

thus

thus expreſſing their loyalties to their Soveraigne Prince, *viz. We will be with our ſaid Soveraigne Lord the King, and his ſaid Crown, and his Regality in caſes aforeſaid, and in all other caſes attempted againſt him, his Crowne and Dignity, in all points to live and die.*

Nor will I onely bring in your Proteſtant Biſhops, but alſo your Proteſtant Chronologies of lateſt Editions averring the ſame, *viz.* *Holinſhead*, where you may finde how in the reign of King *Edward* the firſt, all the Lords (then Catholiques, aſſembled at *Lincoln* in Parliament, in the name of all the Eſtates) did anſwer the Pope's right to judge &c. *viz.* that they would not conſent that their King ſhould do any thing that ſhould tend to the diſinheriting of the right of the Crown of *England*, and that it was never known (wherefore never practiſed) that the King of this Land had anſwered, or ought to anſwer, for their Rights in the ſame Realme, before any Judge, Eccleſiaſticall, or Secular. And

Hol. in his ſecond volume of the laſt edition, p: 309. b. line 66.

Holinſ. ib. pag. 310. line 2.

Yet notwithſtanding all this, in their ſpeciall Letter writ to the ſame Pope (*Boniface*) at the ſame time they thus wrote unto him.

Boniface

Ibid.p.30. a. line 11. Boniface, *by Gods providence, high Bishop of the holy Roman, and universall Church*, styling themselves *his devout* Sons, where (notwithstanding all this) it consisted with their Devotion, further, to affirme, that the King of *England* ought not to answer for any of their Rights in the said Realme, or for any of their Temporalties before any Judge Ecclesiastical, by reason of the free preheminence of the Estate of the Royall Dignity, and Custome kept without breach at all times, and after full treaty and deliberation, it was consistent likewise with their devotion, to make it their common argument and unanimous consent (which agreement they said *should be without faile in time to come*) that *their foresaid Lord the King, ought not by any meanes, to answer in judgement, nor send any Proctors to the Popes presence; especially seeing that the premises tended manifestly to the disinheriting of the Crown of* England, *and also to the hurting of the Liberties and Lawes of their Fathers, and the duties of their Oath made*, which (said they) we will maintaine with all our power, and defend

Ibid. pag. 310. a. l. 11.

Ibid. pag. 310. a. l. 14.

Ibid. pag. 311. a. l. 2.

Ibid. pag. 311. a. l. 9.

with all our ſtrength, and will not ſuffer our foreſaid Lord the King, to do or attempt the premiſes, being ſo unaccuſtomed, and before not heard of.

Annotations upon the *Rhem. Teſt.* cap. 13. 2; An. in 1 *Pet.* cap. 2. 13.

Nor will we onely bring you your owne Chronicles, but our owne Annotations upon our own Teſtaments, where you ſhall finde Catholiques acknowleging themſelves bound in conſcience to obey their Emperours and Governors, though they were Heathens and Perſecutors.

Bell. li. de laick. c. 10. & 11.

Our greateſt Champions, where you ſhall finde *Bellarmine* himſelf maintaining how that the Lawes of Magiſtrates do binde even *the conſciences of Chriſtians.*

Dr. Keiliſon in his Survey printed 1603. p. 480.

Our ſtricteſt Caſuiſts, where you ſhall finde them averring how that *Faith is not neceſſary to Juriſdiction*, and that *Authority cannot be loſt by the loſſe of Faith.*

Tract. 3. *Sect.* 5. written by *T. Brerely An.* 1608.

Your own Proteſtant Apology for the Church of *Rome*, though writ by us, yet made by you, where you ſhall finde the Roman Catholicks acknowledging themſelves *indiſſolubly bound by all Lawes*

Lawes (Humane and Divine) in the highest degree of all earthly Allegeance, to the present temporall Government, notwithstanding at the same time, the Magistracy was adverse unto them in matters of Religion, and heavy upon them by reason of the same.

Our owne *submissions* and *protestations* (in the vindication of our Loyalty to the temporall Magistrate) as the declared will of God in that behalf, where you shall finde us quoting all these severall texts of Scripture out of the Word of God, to the same purpose, how that *we ought not to speak evil of our Governours, though they should persecute us*, nor so much as to *think amiss of them*, but to be *subject to them*, and that not onely for *necessity*, but for *conscience sake*, left otherwise we should be *damned*.

Exo. 22,28
Act. 23.5.
Eccl.10. 20
Rom.13.2.
Rom.13.5.

Where should a man finde better Subjects? and yet these are the men who have been traduced all along, as inconsistent with politique Government. And why should the same Loyalty be suspected at any time, still to remaine within the same breasts, since that their Religion, Lawes, (both Civil and Ecclesiasticall) Customs, Provision for the future, present Practise, Oathes and Protestations, all along, evermore obliging them to

ſuch Obedience, eſpecially whereas at this preſent, all other ſorts and ſects of chriſtian Religion (excepting thoſe who are for all ſorts and ſects) appeare againſt the preſent Government, like *Aries*, *Scorpio*, *Leo*, *Sagitarius*, &c. as if they would all, and every one of them, wound each *part* and *member* of this body politique; the Roman Catholiques, like *Piſces* (the Emblem of the Fiſherman) are contented to remaine quiet *under foot*.

And this digreſſion from the Subject we have in hand, I have preſum'd to make, whereby the courteous Reader may be more courteous, if he pleaſe, to Roman Catholiques, ſeeing they have no ſuch ugly features in their faces, as their adverſaries would have them have, when the vizards are taken off, which they have clapt upon their faces; and therefore let not (hereafter) a few diſcoloured, powder-ſpirited, and inconſiderate men (among ſo many thouſands (of the ſame Religion, and better quality) that were then ignorant of, and afterwards deteſting the deſigne as diabolicall) blow up a whole cauſe, ſo univerſall, or contract any tragicall, or immoderate application, for ſome few's ſake, againſt the whole, any more than equity her ſelfe ſhall think it reaſon, that one Devil

ſhall

ſhall be able to prejudice the dignity of the twelve Apoſtles, ſince that there hath not been all along (which way ſoever the Government was addicted to one or other Religion) more faithfull, peaceable, and loyall Subjects, than were the Roman Catholiques excepting an exception which *makes*, but never *marres* a generall rule.

What if this good Bſhop had lived to ſee how in the daies of Queen *Elizabeth*, when ſhe firſt took upon her the government of this Land (although that Catholiques were then the chiefeſt Miniſters, both in Church and State, and had (at that time) the government of both ſetled in that courſe, and therefore queſtionleſſe were ſufficient to have uſed any indirect, or forcible meanes, if ſuch kinde of loyalty had been conſiſtent with their Religion, to have impugned that alteration in Religion, then evidently foreſeen to enſue) how the Catholique Bſhops (although ſhe was a Princeſſe of a contrary Religion) were

Hol. vol 3. An. *Eliz.* 26. p. 1358 Ib. p. 1360. b. line 26. Ib l. 26. Ib. l. 35. Ib. l. 40.

ſo farre from holding their croſiers *over*, that they ſet the Crown *upon* her head (inſomuch that they are commended by *Holinſhead* for *peaceable* and *quiet* Bſhops) and the Catholique and temporall Lord there by him recorded

Ib. l. 53. 54. &c. corded to be ſo farre from oppoſing themſelves againſt her intereſt, as that they are there ſaid to *offer her Majeſtie in her defence to impugne and reſiſt any forraigne force, though it ſhould come from the Pope himſelf*, inſomuch that they (alſo) are there commended by *Holinſhead* himſelf for Loyalty and Obedience, and had ſeen how the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, himſelfe, and Chancellour of *England* (a Catholique Biſhop) how inſtead of inveighing againſt her, or caſting forth Libells againſt her Authority (as Archbiſhop *Cranmer* did againſt Queen *Mary*, her entrance into the Government) he made a publique oration in her behalfe, to perſwade the people to Obedience, and acknowledge of her Highneſſe juſt Power and Authority, inſomuch that the ſaid Archbiſhops faithfulneſs was left to the commendation of a Proteſtant Biſhop, adverſe to him in his Religion, how all the Catholique Lords, and Catholique Biſhops, repaired with all ſpeed to *London*, to *proclaime her Queene*, who not long after, turned them all out of their ſeverall Offices and Biſhopricks. And

Holinſ. ubi ſupra, p. 1170. 2. l. 35. 36.

Goodwin in his Catalogue of Biſhops.

Hol. ubi ſupra, p. 1170. l. 15.

On

On the contrary, how when Qu. *Mary* was to be inveſted in her right, Proteſtants would not receive her as their Queen, but upon Conditions; nor aſſiſt her without Indentures; nor acknowledge her but upon ſuch and ſuch termes; how Warre was waged againſt her by the Duke of *Northumberland*, a Proteſtant Duke; bills ſpread abroad, and ſeverall treacherous practiſes contrived againſt her, & her Right and Dignity, by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, a Proteſtant Archbiſhop (for which he was afterwards arraigned and condemned of high Treaſon) what great commotions and inſurrections were made againſt her by *Wiat* upon the ſcore of Religion; how Townes and Caſtles were taken and held out againſt her by *Staffford*; how daggers were thrown at, and gunnes ſhot off, at the Prieſts of her Religion, whiles they were preaching at *Paul's* Croſs, inſomuch that it is notoriouſly evident, that there were more open Rebellions during the five years of her ſhort government, than during the four and forty yeares of her late

As the *Suffolk* people, *Stow* in his Annals. p. 1046.

Stow An. printed 1592. p. 1039. and 1045.

Stow. An. p. 1046.

Stow. An. p. 1047.

Stow. *ubi ſupra*, pag. 1039. p. 1058.

late Majesties after-reigne, and yet these, and such like men as these, are accounted Martyrs, whiles we onely suffered Martyrdome.

Had this good Bishop, I say, lived to have seen, and to have observed all these particulars, how much more able would he have been to have answered Master *Rich* his Objection (from his Majesty) concerning the inconsistency of the Pope of *Rome's* spirituall, with his temporall Supremacy; but now both the Fish and the Fisher himself, is caught within the Net that was laid for him; for Mr. *Rich* was no sooner departed from him, but immediately after the King commanded a Commission to be drawn, and given to Mr. *Audely* his Lord Chancellour, and certaine other persons commissionated under his great Seale, to enquire and determine Treasons; which Commission was dated the first day of *June*, in the 27. yeare of the Kings reigne, against which time the Kings learned Councell, among the rest, had drawn up an Indictment of high Treason against the Bishop of *Rochester*, and three Monks of the Charter-house of *London*, whose names were *William Exmew*, *Humphrey Midlemore*, and *Sebastian Nudigate*. This Indictment was not

not long in finding; for on St. *Barnaby's* day (the Apoſtle) being the 11. of *June*; it was preſented to the Commiſſioners ſitting in the Kings Bench at *Weſtminſter*: whereupon the *Carthuſians* were ſhortly after arraigned, and condemned; and having ſentence of high Treaſon pronounced upon them, they were all three put to death at Tyburne, the 19. day of *June* next following, all in their Religious habits.

But this good Biſhop of *Rocheſter* (now Cardinall, if it be lawfull to call him ſo) chanced at that time to be very ſick, inſomuch that he had likely to have ſaved the Commiſſioners, and divers others a great deale of paines, which afterwards they beſtowed upon him, and it is conceived would willingly have ſpared, wherefore the King ſent unto him his owne Phyſitians to adminiſter unto him, to his great charges (as I have it in my Record) to the value of fifty pounds, onely that he might be reſerved for further triall. In the mean time, leſt any conveyance might be made of his good remaining at *Rochester*, or elſewhere in *Kent*, the King ſent one Sir *Richard Moriſon* of his Privy chamber, and one *Goſtwick* together with divers other Commiſſioners, down into that Countrey, to make ſeiſure of all his moveable goods

goods that they could finde there; who be-
ing come unto *Rochester*, according to their
Commission entred his house, and the first
thing which they did, they turned out all his
Servants, then they fell to rifling his goods,
whereof the chief part of them were taken
for the Kings use, the rest they took for them-
selves; then they came into his Library,
which they found so repleniſhed, and with
such kind of Books, as it was thought the like
was not to be found againe in the posſession
of any one private man in Christendom; with
which they truſſed up, and filled 32. great
fats, or pipes, beſides thoſe that were im-
bezel'd away, ſpoyl'd, and ſcatter'd; and
whereas many yeares before he had made a
deed of gift of all theſe books, and other his
houſhold ſtuffe, to the Colledge of St. *Johns*
in *Cambridge* (as in the beginning of this
Hiſtory it was mentioned) two frauds were
committed in this treſpaſſe; the Colledge
were bereaved of their gift, and the Biſhop
of his purpoſe, yet both found out a way,
through gratitude, to a reception; for the
Colledge accepted the good will for the
deed, and the Almighty received the giver
for his good-will: and whereas a ſumme of
money of 300 l. was given by a Predeceſſor
of the Biſhop, to remaine as a *Depoſitum*
for

for ever to the ſaid See of *Rocheſter*, in the cuſtody of the Biſhop for the time being, againſt any occaſion that might happen to the Biſhoprick; to which this good Biſhop had added one hundred pounds out of his own purſe, with this inſcription upon a label which hung out at the bags mouth, *Tu quoque fac ſimile*, and notwithſtanding that there was there written, in an old character upon the inſide of the Cheſt, *Let no man offer to lay hands on this, for it is the Churches Treaſure*: yet they ſwept it all away. And

I cannot omit (as a Scæne of mirth in this ſad Tragedie) to relate unto you one merry paſſage, which hapned in this *quærendum*. There was a wooden coffer ſtrongly girded about with hoops of iron, and double locked, which ſtood in his Oratory, where commonly no man came but himſelf, for it was his ſecret place of Prayer. This Coffer thus fenced about, and in ſo private a place, and cloſe unto him, every man beleived verily that ſome great Treaſure had been ſtored up in that ſame Coffer, wherefore, becauſe no indirect dealing might be uſed in defrauding the King in a matter of ſo great conſequence as this was thought to be, wherefore witneſſes were ſolemnly called to be preſent, ſo the Coffer was broken up before them, and much

much paines was taken in breaking up the Coffer; but when it was open, they found within it, inſtead of gold and ſilver, which they looked for, a ſhirt of haire, and two or three whips, wherwith he uſed full often to puniſh himſelf, as ſome of his Chaplaines and Servants have often reported, that were neere about him, and curiouſly marked his doings; and other treaſure than that found they none at all. But when report was made to him in his priſon of the opening of that coffer, he was very ſorry for it, and ſaid, that if haſt had not made him forget that, and many things elſe, thoſe things had not been to be found there at that time.

After this good Biſhop was recovered to ſome better ſtrength, by the help of his Phyſitians, and that he was more able to be carried abroad, he was on Thurſday the 17. of *June*, brought to the Kings Bench at *Weſtminſter*, from the Tower, with a huge number of Holberts, Bills, and other weapons, about him, and the Ax of the Tower born before him with the edge from him, as the manner is; and becauſe he was not yet ſo well recovered that he was able to walk by land all the way on foot, he rode part of the way on horſeback in a black cloth gown, & the reſt he was carried by water, for that he was not well able

to

to ride thorough for weakneſſe. As ſoon as he was come to *Weſtminſter*, he was there preſented at the Barre before the ſaid Commiſſioners, being all ſet ready in their places againſt his coming, whoſe names were theſe, Sir *Thomas Audely* Knight, Lord Chancellor of *England*. *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, *Henry* Earle of *Comberland*, *Thomas* Earle of *Wiltſhire*, *Thomas Cromwell* Secretary, Sir *John Fitz-James* Chief Juſtice of *England*, Sir *John Baldwin* Chief Juſtice of the Commonpleas, Sir *William Pawlet*, Sir *Richard Lyſter* Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir *John Port*, Sir *John Spilman*, and Sir *Walter* late Juſtices of the Kings Bench, and Sir *Anthony Fitzherbert* one of the Juſtices of the Commonpleas. Being thus preſented before theſe Commiſſioners, he was commanded, by the name of *John Fiſher* late of *Rocheſter*, Clerk, otherwiſe called *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, to hold up his hand, which he did, with a moſt cheerfull countenance and rare conſtancy: then was his Indictment read, which was very long and full of words; but the effect of it was thus, that he maliciouſly, treacherouſly, & falſely, had ſaid theſe words, *The King our ſovereigne Lord, is not Supreme head in the earth, of the Church of England:* and being read to the end, it was asked him, whether

ther he was guilty of this Treason, or no? whereunto he pleaded, Not guilty. Then was a Jury of twelve men (being Free-holders of *Middlesex*) called to try this Issue, whose names were these, Sir *Hugh Vaughan* Knight, Sir *Walter Langford* Knight, *Thomas Burbage*, *John Nudygate*, *William Browne*, *John Hewes*, *Jasper Leak*, *John Palmer*, *Richard Henry Young*, *Henry Lodisman*, *John Elrington*, and *George Heveningham*, Esquires. These twelve men being sworne to trie whether the prisoner were guilty of this Treason or no, at last came forth to give evidence against him Mr *Rich*, the secret and close Messenger that passed between the King and him, as ye have read before, who openly, in the presence of the Judges, and all the people there assembled, deposed and swore, that he heard the Prisoner say in plaine words, within the Tower of *London*, that he believed in his conscience, and by his learning he assuredly knew, that the King neither was, nor by right, could be Supreme head in earth of the Church of *Engl.* When this blessed Father heard the accusations of this most wretched & false person, contrary to his former oath & promise, he was not a little astonied thereat; wherefore he said to him in this menner: Mr. *Rich*, I cannot but mervaile to hear you come

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in, and beare witneſſe againſt me of theſe words, knowing in what ſecret manner you came to me; but ſuppoſe I ſo ſaid unto you, yet in that ſaying I commited no Treaſon; for upon what occaſion, and for what cauſe it might be ſaid, your ſelf doth know right well, and therefore being now urged (ſaid he) by this occaſion, to open ſomewhat of this matter, I ſhall deſire, my Lords, and others here, to take a little patience in hearing what I ſhall ſay for my ſelf.

This man (meaning Mr. *Rich*) *came to me from the King, as he ſaid, on a ſecret meſſage with commendations from his Grace, declaring at large what a good opinion his Majeſty had of me, and how ſorry he was of my trouble, with many more words than are here needfull to be recited, becauſe they tended ſo much to my praiſe, as I was not onely aſhamed to hear them, but alſo knew right well that I could no way deſerve them; at laſt he broke with me of the matter of the Kings Supremacy, lately granted unto him by Act of Parliament, to the which he ſaid, although all the Biſhops in the Realme have conſented, except your ſelfe alone, and alſo the whole Court of Parliament, both ſpirituall and temporall, except a very few; yet he told me, that the King, for better ſatisfaction of his owne conſcience, had ſent him unto me in this*

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ſecret manner, to know my full opinion in the matter, for the great affiance he had in me more than any other: he added further, that if I would herein frankly and freely advertiſe his Maj. my knowledge, that upon certificate of my miſliking, he was very like to retract much of his former doings, and make ſatisfaction for the ſame, in caſe I ſhould ſo advertiſe him: When I had heard all his meſſage, and conſidered a little upon his words, I put him in minde of the new Act of Parliament, which ſtanding in force as it doth againſt all them that ſhall diſcretly ſay, or do any thing that is againſt it, might thereby endanger me very much, in caſe I ſhould utter unto him any thing that were offenſive againſt the Law: to that he told me, that the King willed him to aſſure me on his honour, and in the word of a King, that whatever I ſhould ſay unto him by this his ſecret meſſenger, I ſhould abide no danger no perill for it, neither that any advantage ſhould be taken againſt me for the ſame, no, although my words were never ſo directly againſt the Statute, ſeeing it was but a declaration of my minde ſecretly to him, as to his owne perſon: and for the meſſenger himſelfe, he gave me his faithfull promiſe that he would never utter my words in this matter to any man living, but to the King alone: Now therefore, my Lords, quoth he, ſeeing it pleaſed the Kings

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Majeſty to ſend to me thus ſecretly, under the pretence of plaine and true meaning, to know my poore advice and opinion in theſe his weighty and great affaires, which I moſt gladly was and ever will be, willing to ſend him in; methinks it is very hard in juſtice to heare the meſſengers Accuſation, and to allow the ſame as a ſufficient teſtimony againſt me in caſe of Treaſon. To this the meſſenger made no direct anſwer; but (neither denying his words as falſe, nor confeſſing them as true) ſaid, that whatever he had ſaid unto him on the Kings behalf, he ſaid no more than his Majeſty commanded; and, ſaid he, if I had ſaid to you in ſuch ſort as you have declared, I would gladly know what diſcharge this is to you in Law againſt his Majeſty, for ſo directly ſpeaking againſt the Statute; whereat ſome of the Judges taking quick hold one after another, ſaid, that this meſſage, or promiſe from the King to him, neither could, nor did, by rigour of the Law, diſcharge him; but in ſo declaring of his minde and conſcience againſt the Supremacy, yea, though it were at the Kings own commandment or requeſt, he committed Treaſon by the Statute, and nothing can diſcharge him from death but the Kings pardon.

This good Father perceiving the ſmall ac-

count made of his words, and the favourable credit given to his accuſer, might then eaſily finde in which doore the wind blew, wherefore directing his ſpeeches to the Lords his Judges, he ſaid, yet I pray you my Lords conſider, that by all equity, juſtice, worldly honeſty, and courteous dealing, I cannot (as the caſe ſtandeth) be directly charged therewith, as with Treaſon, though I had ſpoken the words indeed, the ſame being not ſpoken malicioufly, but in the way of advice and counſell, when it was requeſted of me by the King himſelf, and that favour the very words of the Statute do give me, being made onely againſt ſuch as ſhall malicioufly gainſay the Kings Supremacy, and none other: wherefore, although by rigour of Law, you may take occaſion thus to condemn me, yet I hope you cannot finde Law, except you adde rigour to that law to caſt me downe, which herein I hope I have not deſerved. To which it was anſwered by ſome of the Judges, that the word *malicioufly* is but a ſuperfluous and void word, for if a man ſpeak againſt the Kings Supremacy by any manner of meanes, that ſpeaking is to be underſtood, and taken in Law, as malicioufly.

My Lords, ſaid he, if the Law be ſo underſtood, then it is a hard expoſition, and (as I take

take it) contrary to the meaning of them that made the Law. But then let me demand this question, whether a single testimony of one man may be admitted as sufficient to prove me guilty of treason for speaking these words, or no? and whether my answer, Negatively, may not be accepted against his Affirmative to my availe and benefit, or no? To that the Judges and Lawyers answered (that being the Kings case) it rested much in conscience and discretion of the Jury, and as they, upon the evidence given before them, shall finde it, you are either to be acquitted, or else by judgement to be condemned. The Jury having heard all this simple Evidence, departed (according to the order) into a secret place, there to agree upon the Verdict; but before they went from the place, the case was so aggravated to them by my Lord Chancellour, making it so hainous and dangerous a treason, that they easily perceived what verdict they must returne; others heap such danger upon their owne heads, as none of them were willing to undergo; some other of the Commissioners charged this most reverend man with obstinacy and singularity, alledging, that he being but one man, did presumptuously stand against that which was in the great Councell of Parliament agreed

upon, and finally was consented unto by al the Bishops of this Realme, saving himselfe alone. But to that he answered, that indeed he might well be accounted singular, if he alone should stand in this matter (as they said) but having on his part the rest of the Bishops in Christendome far surmounting the number of the Bishops of *Engl.* he, said they, could not justly account him singular. And having on his part all the Catholicks and Bishops of the world from Christ's Ascention, till now, joyned with the whole consent of Christs universall Church, I must needs, said he, account mine own part farre the surer: and as for Obstinacy, which is likewise objected against me, I have no way to cleare my self thereof, but my owne solemne word and promise to the contrary, if ye please to believe it, or else, if that will not serve, I am here ready to confirme the same by my oath. Thus in effect he answered their objections, though with many mo words, both wisely and profoundly uttered, and that with a mervailous, couragious, and rare constancy, insomuch as many of his hearers, yea some of his Judges, lamented so grievously, that their inward sorrow in all sides, was expressed by the outward teares in their eyes, to perceive such a famous and reverend man in danger

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to be condemned to cruell death, upon ſo weak evidence given by ſuch an accuſer, contrary to all faith and promiſe of the King himſelf. But all pity, mercy, and right, being ſet aſide, rigour, cruelty, and malice, took place; for the twelve men being ſhortly returned from their conſultation, Verdict was given that he was guilty of the Treaſon, which although they thus did, upon the menacing & threatning words of the Commiſſioners, the Kings learned Councell, yet was it (no doubt) full ſore againſt their conſcience, as ſome of them would after report, to their dying daies, onely for ſafety of their goods and lives, which they were well aſſured to loſe, in caſe they had acquitted him. After the Verdict thus given by the twelve men, the Lord Chancellour commanding ſilence to be kept, ſaid unto the Priſoner in this ſort, *My Lord of* Rocheſter, *you have been here arraigned of high Treaſon, and putting your ſelfe to the triall of twelve men you have pleaded not guilty, and they notwithſtanding have found you guilty in their conſcience*; *Wherefore, if you have any more to ſay for your ſelf, you are now to be heard, or elſe to receive Judgement according to the order and courſe of Law.* Then ſaid this bleſſed Father againe, *Truly my Lord, if that which I have before ſpoken be*

not sufficient, I have no more to say, but onely to desire Almighty God to forgive them that have thus condemned me, for I think they know not what they have done. Then my L. Chancellour framing himselfe to a solemnity in countenance, proclaimed sentence of death upon him, in manner and forme following; *You shall be led to the place from whence you came, and from thence shall be drawn through the city to the place of execution at Tyborne, where your body shall be hanged by the neck, half alive you shall be cut downe and throwne to the ground, your bowels to be taken out of your body before you, being alive, your head to be smitten off, and your body to be divided into four quarters, and after your head and quarters to be set up, where the King shall apoint; And God have mercy upon your soule.*

After the pronouncing of this cruell sentence, the Lieutenant of the Tower, with his band of men, stood ready to receive and carry him back again to his prison. Before his departure he desired audience of the Commissioners for a few words, which being granted, he said thus in effect, *My Lords, I am here condemned before you of high Treason, for denial of the Kings Supremacy over the Church of* England, *but by what order of Justice I leave to God, who is the searcher both of*

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the Kings Majesty's conscience and yours. Nevertheless, being found guilty (as it is termed) I am, and must be, contented with all that God shall send, to whose will I wholly referre and submit my self. And now to tell you more plainly my minde, touching this matter of the Kings Supremacy, I think indeed, and alwaies have thought, and do now lastly affirm, that his Grace cannot justly claime any such Supremacy over the Church of God, as he now taketh upon him, neither hath it ever been seen or heard of, that any temporall Prince, before his daies, hath presumed to that dignity: wherefore if the King will now adventure himself in proceeding in this strange and unwonted case, no doubt but he shall deeply incurre the grievous displeasure of Almighty God, to the great dammage of his owne soule, and of many others, and to the utter ruine of this Realme, committed to his charge, whereof will ensue some sharp punishment at his hand: wherefore I pray God his Grace may remember himself in time, and hearken to good counsell, for the preservation of himself and his Realme, and the quietnesse of all Christendome. Which words being ended, he was conveyed back againe to the Tower of *London*, part on foot, and part on horseback, with a number of men, bearing holberts and other weapons about him, as was before at his coming to

raignment: And when he was come to the Tower-gate, he turned him back to all his traine that had thus conducted him forward and backward, and said unto them, *My Masters, I thank you all for the great labour and paines ye have taken with me this day, I am not able to give you any thing in recompence, for I have nothing left; and therefore I pray you accept in good part my hearty thanks.* And this he spake with so lusty a courage, so amiable a countenance, and with so fresh and lively a colour, as he seemed rather to have come from some great feast, or banquet, than from his arraignment, shewing by all his gesture, and outward countenance, nothing else but joy and gladnesse.

Thus being after his condemnation, the space of three or four daies, in his prison, he occupied himselfe in continuall prayer most fervently; and although he looked daily for death, yet could ye not have perceived him one whit dismayed thereat, neither in word nor countenance, but still continued his former trade of constancy and patience, and that rather with a more joyfull, cheere, and free minde than ever he had done before, which appeared well, by this chance that I will tell you: There hapned a false rumour to rise sodainely among the people, that he should be

be brought to his execution by a certain day; whereupon his Cook, that was wont to dreſs his dinner, and carry it daily unto him, hearing, among others, of this Execution, dreſſed him no dinner at all that day, wherefore at the Cook's next repaire unto him, he demanded the cauſe why he brought him not his dinner as he was wont to doe: Sir, ſaid the Cook, it was commonly talked all the towne over, that you ſhould have died that day, and therefore I thought it but in vaine to dreſſe any thing for you. Well ſaid he, merrily unto him againe, for all that report thou ſeeſt me yet alive; and therefore whatſoever newes thou ſhalt heare of me, hereafter let me no more lack my dinner, but make it ready as thou art wont to do; and if thou ſee me dead when thou comeſt, then eat it thy ſelfe: but I promiſe thee, if I be alive, I minde, by Gods grace, to eat never a bit the leſſe.

Thus while this bleſſed Biſhop lay daily expecting the houre of his death, the King (who no leſſe deſired his death than himſelf looked for it) cauſed at laſt a writ of Execution to be made, and brought to Sir *Edmond Walſingham* Lieutenant of the Tower. But where by his Judgement at Weſtminſter he was condemned (as ye have read before) to Drawing,

ing, Hanging, and Quartering, as Traitors alwaies use to be, yet was he spared from that cruell execution, wherefore order was taken that he should be led no further than Tower-Hill, and there to have his Head struck off.

After the Lieutenant had received this bloody writ, he called unto him certaine persons, whose service and presence was to be used in that businesse, commanding them to be ready against the next day in the morning: and because that was very late in the night, and the Prisoner asleep, he was loath to disease him of his rest for that time; and so in the morning before five of the clock, he came to him in his chamber in the Bell tower, finding him yet asleep in his bed, and waked him, shewing him that he was come to him on a message from the King, and after some circumstance used with perswasion, that he should remember himself to be an old man, and that for age he could not, by course of Nature, live long; he told him at last, that he was come to signifie unto him, that the Kings pleasure was he should suffer death that forenoone. Well (quoth this blessed Father) if this be your errand, you bring me no great newes, for I have long time looked for this message; I most humbly thank his Ma-

Majesty, that it pleaseth him to rid me from all this worldly businesse, and I thank you also for your tidings. But I pray you Mr. Lieutenant (said he) when is mine houre that I must go hence? your houre (said the Lieutenant) must be nine of the clock: and what houre is it now (said he?) it is now about five (said the Lieutenant.) Well then (said he) let me, by your patience, sleep an houre or two, for I have slept very little this night. And yet to tell you the truth, not for any feare of Death (I thank God) but by reason of my great infirmity and weaknesse. The Kings further pleasure is (said the Lieutenant) that you should use as little speech as may be, especially any thing touching his Majesty, whereby the people should have any cause to think of him or his proceedings, otherwise than well: For that (said he) you shall see me order my self, as by Gods grace, neither the King, nor any man else, shall have occasion to mislike of my words. With which answer the Lieutenant departed from him, and so the Prisoner falling againe to rest, slept soundly two houres and more. And after he was waked, he called to his man to help him up: but first of all he commanded him to take away the shirt of haire (which accustomably he wore on his back) and to convey

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it privily out of the house, and instead thereof to lay him forth a clean white shirt, and all the best aparrell he had, as cleanly brushed as may be: and as he was in arraying himselfe, his man perceiving in him a more curiosity and care for the fine and cleanly wearing of his aparrell that day, than ever was wont to be before, demanded of him what this sodain change meant, saying that his Lordship knew well enough he must put off all againe within two houres, and lose it. What of that (said he) dost thou not mark, that this is our Marriage-day, and that it behoveth us therefore to use more cleanlinesse for solemnity of the Marriage-sake?

About nine of the Clock the Lieutenant came againe to his prisoner, and finding him almost ready, said that he was come now for him. I will wait upon you straight (said he) as fast as this thin body of mine will give me leave. Then said he to his man, reach me my furred tippet to put about my neck. O my Lord, said the Lieutenant, what need you be so careful for your health for this little time, being (as your self knoweth) not much above an houre? I think no otherwise (said this blessed Father) but yet in the mean time I will keep my selfe as well as I can, till the very

very time of my execution: for I tell you truth, though I have (I thank our Lord) a very good desire, and a willing minde, to die at this present, and so trust of his infinite mercy and goodnesse, he will continue it, yet will I not willingly hinder my health, in the mean t me, one minute of an houre, but still prolong the same as long as I can by such reasonable waies and meanes as Almighty God hath provided for me. With that taking a little book in his hand, which was a N. Test. lying by him, he made a Crosse on his forehead, and went out of his prison doore with the Lieutenant, being so weak that he was scarce able to go downe staires: wherefore at the staires foot he was taken up in a chaire between two of the Lieutenants men, and carried to the Tower-gate, with a great number of weapons about him to be delivered to the Sheriffs of *London* for execution. And as they were come to the uttermost precinct of the liberty of the Tower, they rested there with him a space, till such time as one was sent before to know in what readinesse the Sheriffs were to receive him: during which space he rose out of his chaire, and standing on his feet leaned his shoulder to the wall, and lifting his eyes towards heaven, opened his little book in his hand, and said,

said, *O Lord, this is the last time that ever I shall open this book, let some comfortable place now chance unto me, whereby I thy poore servant may glorifie thee in this my last houre*; and with that, looking into the book, the first thing that came to his sight were these words, *Hæc est autem vita æterna, ut cognoscant te, solum verum Deum, & quem misisti Jesum Christum. Ego te glorificavi super terram, opus consummavi quod dedisti mihi ut faciam: Et nunc clarifica tu me, pater, apud temetipsum claritate quam habui priusquam*, &c. and with that he shut the book together, and said, *Here is even learning enough for me to my lives end.* And so the Sheriff being ready for him, he was taken up again among certain of the Sheriffs men, with a new and much greater company of weapons than was before, and carried to the Scaffold on the Tower-hill, otherwise called *East-smithfield*, himselfe praying all the way, and recording upon the words which he before had read; and when he was come to the foot of the Scaffold, they that carried him offered to help him up the staires. But then (said he) nay Masters, seeing I am come so farre let me alone, and ye shall see me shift for my self well enough, and so went up the staires without any help, so lively, that it was mervaile to them that

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knew before of his debility and weakneſſe; but as he was mounting up the ſtaires, the South-eaſt Sun ſhined very bright in his face, whereupon he ſaid to himſelfe theſe words, lifting up his hands: *Accedite ad eum, & illuminamini, & facies veſtræ non confundentur.* By that time he was upon the Scaffold it was about ten of the clock, where the Executioner being ready to doe his office, kneeled downe to him (as the faſhion is) and asked him forgiveneſſe: I forgive thee (ſaid he) with all my heart, and I truſt thou ſhalt ſee me overcome this ſtorme luſtily. Then was his Gown and Tippet taken from him, and he ſtood in his Doublet and Hoſe, in ſight of all the people, whereof was no ſmall number aſſembled to ſee this Execution: there was to be ſeen a long, lean, and ſlender body, having on it little other ſubſtance beſides skin and bones, inſomuch as moſt part of the beholders mervailed much to ſee a living man ſo farre conſumed, for he ſeemed a very Image of Death, and as it were Death in a mans ſhape, uſing a mans voice; and therefore it was thought the King was ſomething cruell to put ſuch a man to death, being ſo neere his end, and to kill that which was dying already, except it were for pity ſake to rid him of his pain.

When

When the innocent and holy Man was come upon the Scaffold, he ſpake to the people in effect as followeth:

Chriſtian people, I am come hither to die for the faith of Chriſts holy Catholique Church, and I thank God hitherto my ſtomack hath ſerved me very well thereunto, ſo that yet I have not feared death; wherefore I deſire you all to help and aſſiſt with your prayers, that at the very point and inſtant of deaths ſtroke, I may in that very moment ſtand ſtedfaſt, without fainting in any one point of the Catholique Faith free from any fear. And I beſeech Almighty God of his infinite goodneſſe, to ſave the King and this Realme, and that it may pleaſe him to hold his hand over it, and ſend the King good Counſel.

Theſe, or the like words he ſpake, with ſuch a cheerefull countenance, ſuch a ſtout and conſtant courage, and ſuch a reverend gravity, that he appeared to all men, not onely void of Feare, but alſo glad of Death. Beſides this, he uttered his words ſo diſtinctly, and with ſo loud and cleare a voice, that the people were aſtoniſhed thereat, and noted it for a miraculous thing, to heare ſo plain and audible a voice come from ſo weak and ſickly an old body, for the youngeſt man in that preſence, being in good and perfect health, could not have ſpoken to be better

heard

heard and perceived, than he was. Then after these few words by him uttered, he kneeled down on both his knees and said certain Prayers, among which one was the Hymn of *Te Deum Laudamus*, to the end, and the Psalm *In te Domine Speravi*. Then came the Executioner, and bound a handkercheif about his eyes; and so this holy Father lifting up his hands and heart towards heaven, said a few prayers which were not long, but fervent, and devout: which being ended, he laid his head down on the middle of a little block, where the Executioner being ready, with a sharp and heavy Ax cut asunder his slender neck at one blow, which bled so abundantly, that many wondred to see so much blood issue out of so slender and leane a body.

As concerning the Head, the Executioner put it into a bag, and carried it away with him, meaning to have set it on the Bridge that night, as he was commanded. The Lady *Anne Bullein* (who was the chief cause of this holy mans death) had a certain desire to see the head before it was set up; whereupon, being brought unto her, she beheld it a space, and at last, contemptuously, said these or the like words: *Is this the head that so often exclaimed against me? I trust it shall never*

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do no more harm: & with that, striking it upon the mouth with the back of her hand, hurt one of her fingers upon a tooth that stuck somewhat more out than the rest did, which finger after grew sore, and putting her to pain many dayes after, was nevertheless cured at last, with much difficulty. But after it was healed, the mark of the hurt place remained to be seen when her own head was not to be seen upon her shoulders.

This may seem strange, as a rare example of cruell boldness in that sex, which by nature is fearfull, and cannot behold such spectacles, and therefore argueth (no doubt) a wonderfull malice which she, by likelihood, bare to the holy man living, that could thus cruelly use his head, being dead. Then the Executioner stripping the body of his shirt and all his clothes, he departed thence, leaving the headless carkasse naked upon the Scaffold, where it remained after that sort for the most part of that day, saving that one for pity and humanity sake, cast a little straw over his privities; & about eight of the clock in the evening commandment came from the Kings Commissioners to such as watched about the dead body (for it was still watched with many halberds & weapons) that they should cause it to be buried. Whereupon two of the watchers took

took it upon a holbert between them, and so carried it to a Church-yard there hard-by, called *Alh: Barkin*, where on the Northside of the Church hard by the wall, they digged a grave with their halberds, and therein, without any reverence, tumbled the body of this holy Prelate, all naked and flat upon his belly, without either shirt, or other accustomed thing belonging to a christian mans burial, and so covered quickly with earth. And this was done on the day of St. *Albans* the Protomartyr of *England*, being Tuesday the 22. of *June* in the year of our redemption 1535. and in the 27. year of the Kings reigne, after he had lived full threescore and sixteen years, nine moneths and odde daies.

The next day after his burying, the head being parboyled, was pricked upon a pole and set on high upon *London* Bridge, among the rest of the holy Carthusians heads that suffered death lately before him. And here I cannot omit to declare unto you the miraculous sight of this head, which after it had stood up the space of fourteen dayes upon the bridge, could not be perceived to wast nor consume, neither for the weather, which then was very hot, neither for the parboyling in hot water, but grew daily fresher and fresher, so that in his life-time he never looked

ſo well, for his cheeks being beautified with a comely red, the face looked as though it had beholden the people paſſing by, and would have ſpoken to them, which many took for a miracle, that Almighty God was pleaſed to ſhew above the courſe of nature, in this preſerving the freſh and lively colour in his face, ſurpaſſing the colour he had being alive, whereby was noted to the world the innocence and holineſſe of this bleſſed Father, that thus innocently was content to loſe his head in defence of his Mother, the holy Catholique Church of Chriſt; wherefore the people coming daily to ſee this ſtrange ſight, the paſſage over the bridge was ſo ſtopped with their going and coming, that almoſt neither cart nor horſe could paſſe: and therfore at the end of fourteen daies this Executioner was commanded to throw downe the head in the night-time into the River of Thames, and in the place thereof was ſet the head of the moſt bleſſed and conſtant Martyr, Sir *Thomas Moore*, his Companion and fellow in all his troubles, who ſuffered his paſſion the 6. day of *July* next following.

And touching the place of his buriall in *Barkin Church* yard, it was well obſerved at that time by divers worthy perſons of the na-

nations of *Italy*, *Spain* and *France*, that were then abiding in the Realme, and more diligently noted and wrote the course of things, and with lesse fear and suspition then any of the Kings subjects might or durst doe, that for the space of seaven yeares after his buriall, there grew neither leaf nor grasse upon his grave, but the earth still remained as bare as though it had been continually occupied and trodden.

When by common fame this bloudy Execution was blown and spread abroad, straight way the name of King *Henry* begun to grow odious among all good people, not onely in his own Realm at home, but also among all forreign Princes and Nations abroad through Christendome, insomuch that *Paul* the third, then Pope of *Rome*, with great grief signified these doings by severall Letters to all the Christian Princes, openly detesting the outrage of King *Henry*, in committing such a wicked and manifelt injury, not onely against the freedome and priviledge of the Church of *Rome*, but also against the whole state of Christs universall Church, for the which, in short space after, he pronounced the terrible sentence of Excommunication against him.

Likewise the most noble and christian Em-

perour *Charles* the fifth, at ſuch time as Sir *Thomas Moore* was beheaded, and word thereof brought to him, ſent ſpeedily for Sir *Thomas Eliot* the Kings Embaſſadour, there reſident with him, and asked him whether he heard any ſuch newes, or no; who anſwered him that he heard no ſuch thing: yes, ſaid the Emperour, it is true, and too true, that Sir *Thomas Moore* is now executed to death, as a good Biſhop hath lately been before: and with that, giving a ſigh, ſaid, alas, what meant the K. to kill two ſuch men? for, ſaid he, the Biſhop was ſuch a one, as for all purpoſes, I think the King had not the like againe in all his Realm, neither yet was to be matched through Chriſtendome, ſo that (ſaid he) the King your Maſter hath in killing that Biſhop, killed at one blow all the Biſhops in *England*. And Sir *Thomas Moore* (ſaid he) was well known for a man of ſuch profound wiſdome, cunning, and vertue, that if he had been towards me, as he was towards the King your Maſter, I had rather have loſt the beſt City in all my Dominion than ſuch a man.

And in like manner King *Francis* the French King (though in ſome reſpects a man to be wiſhed otherwiſe than he was, yet) talking on a time with Sir *John Wallop* the Kings Embaſſadour, of thoſe two bleſſed men, told him

him plainly, that either the King his maſter had a very hard heart, that could put to death two ſuch worthy men, as the like were not again within his Realm, whereof K. *Henry* being advertiſed, took it very ill at the hands of King *Francis*, for ſo reſpecting of him, ſaying, that he had done nothing but that himſelf was firſt made privy to it.

In ſtature of his body, he was tall and comely, exceeding the common and middle ſort of men; for he was to the quantity of ſix foot in height, and being therewith very ſlender and lean, was nevertheleſſe upright and well formed, ſtraight back'd, big joynted, and ſtrongly ſinewed, his haire by nature black, though in his later time, through age and impriſonment, turned to hoarineſſe, or rather to whiteneſſe, his eys large and round, neither full black nor full gray, but of a mixt colour between both, his forehead ſmooth and large, his noſe of a good and even proportion, ſomewhat wide mouth'd and big jaw'd, as one ordained to utter much ſpeech, wherein was, notwithſtanding, a certaine comelineſſe, his skin ſomewhat tawny, mixed with many blew veins, his face, hands, & all his body, ſo bare of fleſh, as is almoſt incredible, which came (rather as may be thought) by the great abſtinence and penance he uſed upon

himself many yeares together, even from his youth. In his countenance he bare such a reverend gravity, and therewith in his doings exercised such discreet severity, that not onely of his equalls, but even of his Superiours he was honoured and feared; in speech he was very mild, temperate, and modest, saving in matters of God and his Charge, which then began to trouble the world, and therein he would be earnest above his accustomed order; but vainly, or without cause, he would never speak, neither was his ordinary talk of common worldly matters, but rather of Divinity and high power of God, of the Joyes of Heaven, and the Paines of Hell, of the glorious death of Martyrs, and strait life of Confessors, with such like vertuous and profitable talk, which he alwaies uttered with such a heavenly grace, that his words were alwaies a great edifying to his hearers; he had such a continuall impression of death in his heart, that his mouth never ceased to utter the inward thoughts of his minde, not onely in all times of his exercise, but also at his meales; for he would alwayes say, that the remembrance of Death came never out of season: and of his own end, he would now and then (as occasion of speech was given) cast out such words, as though he had some

some fore-knowledge of the manner of his death; for divers of his Chaplaines and houſhold ſervants have reported, that long before his death they have heard him ſay, that he ſhould not die in his bed; but alwaies in ſpeaking thereof, he would utter his words with ſuch a cheerefull countenance, as they might eaſily perceive him rather to conceive joy, than ſorrow thereat: in ſtudy he was very laborious and painfull; in preaching aſſiduous, ever beating down hereſies and vice; in prayer moſt fervent and devout; in faſting, abſtinence, and puniſhing of his lean body, rigorous, without meaſure. And generally in all things belonging to the care and charge of a true Biſhop, he was to all the Biſhops of *England*, living in his daies, the very mirrour and lantherne of light.

One that was Dean of *Rocheſter* many years together, named Mr. *Philips*, in the daies of King *Edward* the ſixth, when certaine Commiſſioners were coming towards him to ſearch his houſe for books, he, for feare, burned a large volume, which this holy Biſhop had compiled, containing in it the whole ſtory and matter of Divorce, which volume he gave him with his owne hand a little before his trouble; for the loſſe whereof the Deane would many times after lament, and

wiſh

with the book whole againe, upon condition he had not one groat to live on.

Pope *Paul* the third writing (as before is said) to the Princes of Christendome of the dealings of King *Henry* against this goodly man, wrote, among others, one Letter to *Ferdinando* King of Romans, which I my self have seen and read. In this Letter, after great complaint made of King *Henry* for killing of such a man, whom he before, for his great sanctity and vertue, had inrolled in the number and society of the Cardinall, hoping thereby that all should have turned to his better safety and deliverance, because that dignity in all places hath ever been accounted sacred, yet now falling on: otherwise, he taketh occasion to compare the doings of King *Henry* the eight to the doings of his Progenitors K. *Hen.* 2. and this holy Father he compareth, or rather preferreth, to the holy Martyr St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, saying, that his King *Henry* did not onely renue the impiety of that King, but also went farre beyond him, for where he slew one, this slew many. St. *Thomas* defended the right of one partiular Church, this of the Universall; that King killed an Archbishop, but this King hath put to death a Cardinall of the holy Church of *Rome*; that King exiled St.

Thomas

Thomas by long baniſhment, but this King tormented this holy man by long & hard imprifonment; he ſent unto S. *Thomas* certain hired men to kill him, to this was aſſigned onely a hangman; he cauſed St. *Thomas* to be ſlain by a forcible death, but this by a ſhameful torment hath killed the holy man of God; he (in concluſion) fought to purge himſelf before *Alexander* the third, and laying the fault upon others, did with humility, take upon him ſuch penance, as was to him enjoyned by the Biſhop of *Rome*; but this with a moſt obſtinate minde, defended his own horrible fact, ſhewing himſelf not onely unwilling to do penance, but alſo becometh a ſtubborne and rebellious enemy againſt the Church of *Rome*.

Then conſider what that man of happy memory (Cardinall *Poole*) writeth of him in ſundry places of his works, who in his lifetime both knew him, and was familiarly acquainted with him, but ſpecially in that book which he wrote to King *Henry* the eight, intituled *Pro Eccleſiaſticæ Unitatis defenſione*, wherein he extolleth the name of this bleſſed Prelate, with words according to his great worthineſſe, ſaying to the King, that if an Abaſſadour had bee to be ſent from earth to heaven, there could not among all the

Bishops and Clergy so fit a man be chosen as he, for what other man (saith he) have ye presently, or of many yeares past had comparably with him in sanctity, learning, wisdome, and carefull diligence in the office and duty of a Bishop? of whom ye may justly, above all other Nations, glory and rejoice, that if all the corners of Christendome were narrowly sought, there could not be found out any one man that in all things did accomplish the parts and degrees of a Bishop equal with him. Further in the same place he laudeth him highly for his great travaile and care in the education of youth, especially of the young Students in the University of *Cambr.* for that by his onely mean and motion, that noble and right vertuous Lady *Margaret*, Countesse of *Richmond* and *Derby*, sometimes his Mistresse, erected two famous Colledges in that University (as before in this History hath been declared) wherein young Schollers receive great comfort toward their instruction in Learning, unto which number himself became also a very Patron and Father, and being after chosen by the whole consent of the Universitty to the room of their high Chancellour, he became no lesse carefull over them than over the flock of his Dioces. All which, with many other high praises, this most vertuous,

mous, learned, and high-borne Cardinall ſet down very bountifully of him.

Likewiſe bleſſed Sir *T. Moor*, his companion and fellow in adverſity and trouble, upon occaſion of talk, miniſtred unto him by his daughter Mrs. *Roper*, about refuſing the oath by my L. of *Roch.* & himſelf, ſaith in a certain Epiſtle to his ſaid daughter, that he hath had him in ſuch a reverend eſtimation, as for his wiſdom, learning, & long approv'd vertue together, he reckoneth in this Realme no one man to be matched or compared with him.

Furthermore, the renouned B. of *Nuceria*, and moſt eloquent Hiſtoriographer of our time, *P. Jovius*, although he lacketh no commendation of him throughout all his whole Hiſtory, yet in one place ſpecially he ſaith, that upon the acceptance of his great charge of a Biſhoprick, he became ſo vigilant over his flock the ſpace of many years together, that he was to be wondred at, not onely of his owne country people at home, but alſo of all other outward nations: then he greatly reverenceth him for his conſtant piety, in defending the Marriage between K. *Hen.* and his lawful wife Q. *Cath.* and for withſtanding the Kings wilfull minde in taking upon him ſo abſurdly the name & title of ſupreme head of the Church, for the which he did not refuſe even in his old

old age, to suffer the losse of liberty, livings, life, and all.

Then weigh what is said of him by that most eloquent and learned Father *Stanslaus Hosmes*, Bishop of *Warima* in *Poland*, and Cardinall of *Rome*, in his book of Confutation against *Brentius* the Heretique, his words being thus, *Fatemur & nos Brenti*, &c. wherein he sheweth very notably, how, although in all ages Heretiques have lift up themselves against the Church of God, yet hath he not forsaken or left her destitute at any time.

Neither hath God in these our unfortunate daies, failed his Church; for whereas you Lutherans are broken forth, and from you are sprung *Zuinglius*, *Munserans*, or *Patimontans*, and a number of Hereticks moGod hath produced against you into the battell, many worthy men indued with singular wit, and excellent learning, by whom your raging madness might be suppressed and put down. Among whom especially, and by name, was that famous holy man *John*, Bishop of *Rochester*, who, in defence of the Faith, and Catholique Church of Christ, never stuck for the loss of his life, and the shedding of his blood.

Finally, whosoever shall read of *Coclem*, *Wycleffe*,

Wycelleus, *Eckius*, and others learned writings of *Germany*, of the worthy Bishop and eloquent Writer, *Osorius*, of *Alphonsus de Castro*, and others of *Spaine* and *Portugall*, besides a number of such other learned Fathers of many Nations, whereof some lived in his own daies, and some since, shall easily perceive that he was a man for his profound learning, and rare vertue, highly reverenced and esteemed thoroughout all Christendome.

And no doubt but if his writings and doings be well compared, ye shall find him most like those holy Fathers and Doctors, that in the Primitive Church laid the very first ground and foundation of our belief, upon the which we have since rested and stayed our selves, whom to describe wholly and fully unto you, according to his worthines, I will not take upon me, neither am able to doe it, yea were I as eloquent as *Cicero*, or as witty and subtill as *Aristotle*, as copious as *Demosthenes*, or as profound in Philosophy as *Plato*, such, and so innumerable were his singular vertues.

But herein I will content my self with the generall commendation, which all the famous Universities of Divinity in *Europe* do give this learned man, by calling him blessed Martyr.

tyr, and alledging his works for great authority. Thus much I may also say, that unto *Justus* his predecessor, the first Bishop of *Rochester*, he was a just and true Successor; the place of his birth he doth greatly beautifie with the glorious Bishop St. *John* of *Beverly*; to the Country of *Kent*, where he was Bishop, he is an ornament with St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*; in gravity of his writing he is to be reverenced with St. *Bede*; for stout defending the right and liberty of the holy Church, against the power of Princes, he is not inferiour to the blessed Bishop St. *Ambrose*, and St. *Chrysostome*; in praying for his enemies and persecutors he resembleth holy St. *Stephen*; in constancy and stoutnesse of his Martyrdome he was a second *Cyprian*, and in the manner of his death to *John* the Baptist.

And now we shall observe the wonderfull working of Almighty God, whose judgements are secret and strange in our sight, much to be marked and noted in him and his adherents; for as God of his own nature is patient and long suffering, because he expecteth the amendment of our sinfull lives: so is he also just in his doings, and punisheth grievously, when no amendment is endeavoured, as now may well be perceived by those per-

perceive by those persons that were persecuters of this blessed man; for they escaped not the danger of his heavy hand, as shall be declared unto you.

As first, to begin with the King himselfe, *In quo quis peccat in eo punitur*, the Almighty (commonly) makes rods for our own sins, wherewith he often punisheth those that offend him, as here most notably it is to be observed in the three fold manner of his displeasure, which accused him to be so cruell to this good man, that nothing but the paines of Death could satisfie his irefull indignation: As first for resisting his so inordinate desire of changing wives. Secondly for his refusall to take the Oath of Succession, and his constant disapprovement of the unlawfull courses which he took to procure unto himselfe issue male. Thirdly for withstanding his Supremacy in causes Ecclesiasticall. These were the three causes of his displeasure, which like a Trident he stuck into the breast of Innocence, whiles the three-pointed Scepter made their severall entries within his own bosome; for the first, he that robb'd so many breasts of the possession of so great joy and happinesse in being his through his desire of change, found change a robbery to his own hearts contentment in so many wives, which lawfully

were none of his, for of the six bells whereon he rung this change, two of them were repudiate, two beheaded, one wittingly killed, and the last so displeasing to him, as he had determined to have sent her to the Tower so far onward in her way to her Predecessors fates, had not his approaching death caused her to survive.

As to the second, *viz.* the unlawful meanes which he took to have succession by his issue male, those females who he illegitimated, succeeded, and his issue male deceased, that they might succeed.

As to the third, *viz.* his assuming (and taken upon him) the Supremacy of the Church (whose doings herein were neither approved by the Roman party (as monstrous in their opinions) nor by the Lutherans and Zuinglians as different from theirs) but what the holy Martyrs conjectured; thereupon it came to passe, for, said he in the Convocation-house, (when this businesse was in scanning) the King desires that we would make him head of the Church; his successors will expect to be the like: what if his Successor should chance to be a child, or a woman, how shall we be governed by such? and accordingly the Almighty, to shew us the ridiculousnesse of the usurpation, left him none but women and a

child

child to ſucceed him in that office; women that could not ſpeak, and a childe that knew not how in the Church of God, till at the length he had neither male nor female to ſit any more upon the Throne than in the Chair, Death having made all their hands (iſſueleſs) as unapt to ſway the Scepter, as improper for the Keyes.

Laſtly, I ſhall produce before your eyes, his laſt will and Teſtament, with ſome obſervations upon the ſame.

Henrici *octavi Teſtamentum.*

IN nomine Dei, glorioſæque & benedictæ virginis Mariæ dominæ noſtræ, totiuſque ſanctæ ſocietatis cælitum, nos *Henricus* Dei gratia Rex *Angliæ*, *Franciæ* & *Hiberniæ*, defenſor fidei; & in terris immediate ſub Deo ſupremum caput Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ, ejus nominis octavus: revocantes in memoriam magna dona & beneficia omnipotentis Dei nobis collata in hac vita tranſitoria, ipſi ſubmiſſe humilimas reddimus gratias, agnoſcentes nos ipſos protinus inſufficientes ex ulla parte ad eadem beneficia promerenda aut compenſenda: quin potius metuentes ne illa non digna receperimus: perpendentes ulterius apud nos ipſos, eſſe nos (ut & totum genus humanum) mortales, in peccato natos; cernentes nihilominus & ſperantes, omnem Chriſtianam creaturam in hoc tranſitorio miſe-

miſeroque mundo viventem ſub Deo; (dummodo in fide ſtabilita conetur & exerceat in hac vita ſi tempus habuerit, talia charitatis & pietatis opera quæ ſcriptura injungit, quæque ad Dei honorem & beneplacitum faciunt) ordinatam eſſe ut per Chriſti paſſionem ſalvetur, & ad æternam vitam pertingat, de quorum numero veraciter, confidimus nos ipſos per Dei gratiam exiſtere: Conſiderantes etiam unamquamque creaturam quanto fuerit ſublimior ſtatu, honore, & auctoritate in hoc ſæculo, tanto eſſe obſtrictiorem, aut amet Deum, eique ſerviat, & gratias agat, tantoque diligentius conari deberi ut bona opera charitatis faciat, ad laudē, honorem & gloriam omnipotentis Dei; memoria etiam repetentes, dignitatem, honorem, regnum, & gubernationem, ad quæ nos vocavit omnipotens Deus in hoc mundo: quoque hæc, nos ipſi nec ulla alia mortalis creatura noverit tempus aut locum quando vel ubi placebit omnipotenti Deo nos ex hoc tranſito-

ſitorio ſæculo evocare: Idcirco volentes & meditantes per Dei gratiam, ante noſtrum ex eodum mundo tranſitum, diſponere & ordinare noſtram ultimam mentem, voluntatem & teſtamentum, eo modo quo confidimus gratum fore omnipotenti Deo, unico ſalvatori noſtro Jeſu Chriſto, & toti ſocietati cœli ad ſatisfactionem etiam omnium piorum fratrum in terra, adhuc integra perfectaque mente adhærentes totaliter rectæ fidei Chriſti ejuſque doctrinæ, pœnitentes de veteri deteſtabilique vita, habentes perfectam voluntatem & mentem per ejus gratiam nunquam ab ea deflectere, quamdiu ulla memoria, ſpiritus aut interior cognitio fuerit in hoc noſtro mortali corpore, humilime & cordialiſſime commendamus & legamus animã noſtrã omnipotenti Deo, qui eam in ſua perſona redemit pretioſo corpore & ſanguine ſuo in tempore paſſionis ſuæ, & in pleniorem ejus rei memoriam relequit hic nobiſcum in eccleſia ſua militante conſecrationem,

crationem, & administrationem pretiosi corporis & sanguinis sui, ad consolationem nostram non mediocrem, si nos etiam ita gratanter accipimus, sicut ille gratanter, & quantum ex hominum parte est, immeremter, ad nostrum, non secus bonum illam ordinavit.

Instanter etiam rogamus & obsecramus beatam virginem *Mariam*, Dei matrem, totamque sanctam societatem coeli, ut continuo pro nobis & nobiscum precentur quam diu in hoc mundo vivimus & in nostro transitu de illo, ut citius pertingamus ad vitam æternam quam & speramus & vendicamus ex Christi passione, & verbo, quantum ad corpus meum, quod quando inde anima discesserit, manebit cadaver, atque ita ad vilem materiam unde factum fuerat, redibit: nisi locus & dignitas ad quam nos vocavit Deus, impediret; & ne notemur quasi violatores humanitatis, & bonarum consuetudinum, quando legi Dei non contrariantur: contenti sane essemus ut quovis in loco

ſepeliretur Chriſtianæ ſepulturæ conſue-
to, quantumvis vilis foret: cinis enim
eſt duntaxat, & in cinerem revertetur:
Nihilominus, quia non libenter volu-
mus populo noſtro videri injuriam fa-
cere dignitati, ad quam Deus immeri-
tos nos vocavit, contenti ſumus & per
hanc noſtram ultimam voluntatem ac
teſtamentum volumus & ordinamus,
quod hocce corpus noſtrum terræ
mandetur, & ſepeliatur in choro colle-
gii noſtri de Windeſor, in medio ſpatio
inter ſtalla, & ſummum altare, quodque
fiat & collocetur, quam primum com-
modè poſſit poſt deceſſum no-
ſtrum per exequutores noſtros, & no-
ſtris ſumptibus & expenſis (ſi tamen
per nos ipſos, in vita noſtra non fiat)
honorabile monumentũ in quo oſſa no-
ſtra requieſcant quod monumentũ jam
pene conſummatũ eſt, cum cancellis ſeu
cratibus pulchris circumpoſitis: in quo
etiam monumento, volumus oſſa, &
corpus fidelis, & dilectæ conjugis no-
ſtriæ reginæ Janæ ſimul poni: utque

pro-

projudeatur, ordinetur & fiat expensis sumptibusque nostris, aut exequutorum nostrorum (si tamen in nostra vita non fiat) conveniens altare reverenter ornatum & instructum omnibus requesitis & necessariis ad missas quotidianas ibidem dicendas perpetuo, donec mundus perseverat. Volumus insuper ut sepulchra & altaria regis *Henrici* sexti & Regis *Edwardi* quarti, abavunculi & avi nostri fiant forma augustiori magisque principali & regali iisdem in locis in quibus nunc sunt, idque nostris sumptibus & expensis, & insuper voluntas nostra & specialiter desideramus atque requirimus, ut ubi & quandocunque placuerit Deo nos vocare ex hoc mundo transitorio ad infinitam misericordiam, & gratiam suam, sive ultra Maria aut in quocunque loco extra nostrum Angliæ Regnum vel intra ipsum exequutores nostri quam primum commode poterunt curent omne genus servitii divini, quod pro defunctis fieri solet pro nobis etiam celebrari idque in

proximo

proximo maximeque commodo loco respectu illius in quo nos ex hac vita caduca decedere contigerit. Volumus præterea ut quandocunque & ubicunq; placuerit Deo nos vocare ex misera vita ista ad infinitam misericordiam & gratiam suam, sive intra regnum sive extra ipsum, exequutores nostri quam poterunt pio, convenienti et celeri modo ordinent & procurent, corpus nostrum transferri & portari atque convehi ad prædictum collegium nostrum Windesoræ quoque servicium *Placebo & Dirige*, cum concione, & *missa* postero mane, nostris sumptibus & expensis devote celebretur, & solemniter observetur, ut ibi terra mandetur & sepuliatur in loco disignato pro sepulchro seu monumento, ad eum finem faciendo: & hæc omnia ut fiant devotissimo, quo fieri poterunt modo.

Volumus & injungimus executoribus nostris, quatenus disponant & per viam eleemosinæ distribuant pauperimis maximeque indigentibus personis quæ inveniri

inveniri poterunt (exclusis tamen, quantum ratio postulat, mendicis ordinariis) idque quam breviſſimo intervallo poſt noſtrum de hac vita tranſitoria diſceſſum, ſummam mille marcarum legalis monetæ Angliæ, partim quidem eodem ipſo in loco, in quo placuerit Deo nos ad ſuam miſericordiam evocare; partim in itinere, partim in loco ipſo ſepulturæ noſtræ ſecundum quod ipſi diſcretius judicaverint ut populum cui hec noſtræ eleemoſinæ tribuentur, moneant, ut Deum ex corde *precentur pro peccatis noſtris & ſalute animæ noſtræ.*

Item volumus, ut quanta commode fieri poterit celeritate poſt noſtrum ex hoc mundo tranſitum (ſi in vita noſtra id non fiat) Decanus & canonici liberæ capellæ noſtræ intra caſtrum Windeſoræ habeant in maneriis, terris tenementis & ſpiritualibus promotionibus ad annum valorem ſexcentarum librarum, ultra omnes alias expenſas, iiſdem aſſecuratum, ſucceſſoribus eorum in perpetuum, ſub his conditionibus ſequentibus

quentibus & pro debita ad impletionem omnium conditionum inibi contentarum, per formam indentaturæ chirographo noſtro ſubſignatæ, quæ tranſigetur per viam pacti & contractus in eundem finem inter nos & prædictos decanum & canonicos in vita noſtra, *viz.* prædicti Decanus & canonici eorumque ſucceſſores in perpetuum habebunt paratos duos presbiteros qui Miſſas dicunt ad præfatum Altare in loco ſuperius deſignato collocandum: & poſt deceſſum noſtrum celebrabunt quatuor ſolemnes obitus, pro nobis in prædicto Collegio Windeſoræ, curabuntque ſolemnem concionem haberi: & in unoquoque prædictorum obituum pauperibus donent decem libras (i. centum francos) quotannis in perpetuum, donent tredecim pauperibus, qui vocabuntur equites pauperes unicuique duodecim donarios (hoc eſt decem aſſes per diem, & ſemel per ſingulos annos unicuiq; togam talarem panni albi, habentem in pectore acupictam periſcelidem

dem seu garteriã cum cruce D. *Georgii* in scuto inclusam intra periscelidem & mantellam panni rubei: ut uni ex illis tredecim, qui constituetur caput & rector aliorum, tres libras sex solidos & octo denarios (*i.* 33. *Francos* & sex asses) ultra supraque predictos unicujusque diei duodecim denarios: utque omni dominica totius anni in perpetuũ curent haberi concionem in castro Windesoræ, sicut in præfata indentatura, & contractu plenius & particularius exprimetur. Volentes & onerantes & requirentes filium nostrum principem *Edvardum*, omnesque Exequutores nostros & consulatus postea nominandos, omnesque hæredes nostros & successores, qui hujus regni reges futuri sunt, sicut se noverint responsuros coram Deo in tremendo judicii die, quatenus ipsi, & unusquisq; ipsorum provideant, ut prædicta indentatura & assecuratio, inter nos & predictos decanum & canonicos transigenda & omnia in eis contenta, debite mãdentur exequutioni.

Ob-

Obſerventur, & cuſtodiantur in perpetuum, juxta *hanc extremam voluntatem noſtram atque teſtamentum*, &c.

Reliquam teſtamenti partem in qua de ſucceſſione diſponebatur ſummatim recitat Sanderus in hunc modum: ut *Edvardus* filius ex *Jana Seimera*, novẽ natus annos primas omnium regnandi vices acciperit, ſecundas *Maria* ex *Catharina*, tertias *Elizabetha*, ex *Anna Bulleina* poſtea his deficientibus ad illos tranſire ſucceſſio ad quos jure cõmuni pertineret. Deinde impuberi filio ſedecim conſtituit tutores & curatores pari poteſtate, eoſque magna ex parte Catholicos, velut ariſtocratia quadam monarchiam temperans. Demum valde mandavit ut filius in fide catholica educaretur, excepto primatus titulo, quem ei reliquit & ut regnum ab hæreſibus purgatum teneretur.

He that had made void so many mens Wills, had his own made void in every particular. All those sixteen Counsellors which he had appointed to governe the Kingdome in his Sons minority, either by threatning, exclusion, or imprisonment, were all of them forced to give way to one, who wholly took upon him the government of the whole Kingdome; and he that took such care that his Son should have none to be of his Councill but such as should be Catholiques, had his Will so performed, that there was one who took care that no Catholique should come neere him; and when the heads of those gainsayers of his will were cut off, his Son was left in tuition of such hands, as it was verily believed, made his Son away, that they might set up one upon his throne, in opposition to his owne Daughter; the Religion wherein his Son was bred and commanded to be brought up in, was changed, his Lawes abrogated; and he that took so many unlawfull courses to obtain issue, had so many children, who all of them died issuelesse.

Next to the King I ſhall obſerve the puniſhment of Almighty God, which lighted heavily upon the Qu. (*Anne Bullein*) the chief and principal cauſe of all this woful Tragedie, who in a ſhort ſpace was ſuddenly thrown down from the top of all her high Dignity and Honour (whoſe Glory was exalted upon this mans ruine) and for a moſt vile and abominable Inceſt committed with her owne brother, condemn'd and accuſed to be worthy of death by her owne father, together with divers others of her own kindred, and the Nobility then ſitting in judgement, who, not long before, were her Idolaters, and ſhe their Idoll; whereupon ſhe was executed at Tower hill, her head being ſtricken off. of whoſe loſſe the King himſelf took ſuch ſorrow, that the very next day after ſhe was dead, he mourned for her in a Wedding garment.

Next to the Queen we will call to minde M. *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who of his own power, without any other warrant or authority, pronounced the ſentence of Divorce between the King and Queene (being calculated to the height of that Meridian) and afterwards called this holy man before him, and caſt him into priſon for refuſing the two new Oaths, the one of the

the Kings new Marriage, the other of the new Supremacy, from whence he was never delivered, till death rid him of all worldly cares.

This Archbishop lived till he was condemned for a traitour, because he spred certain seditious Libels amongst the people, and assisted the Duke of *Northumberland* in his Rebellion (in the behalf of the Lady *Jane*) against his lawfull Soveraigne. But forasmuch as this was done in Queen *Mary* her daies, and the Clergie had somewhat else to say to him, they burned him as a Heretique.

As for Mr. *Rich*, the Kings Soliciter, and the Dequoy to this good man, who gave such strange and injurious testimony against him at his arraignment, he lived to be deposed from all his high places and preferments, and fell into deep disgrace, not onely with the King his Master, but with those who afterwards sate at the stern in the young Kings time, insomuch that affliction brought him to understand, and the knowledge of himself to true repentance, so that it is to be believed that he escaped without any further punishment than the clipping of his wings whilest he was alive, and the singing of his body

when he was dead: for his dead body being laid into a coffin, seared & imbalmed, certain candles that were set upon the hearse, through the watchers negligence, or absence, fell downe, and took hold first on the cloaths, and then upon the coffin, till at length came unto the searcloaths, that before any man could come unto the rescue, the fire was pretty onward in his way, to have deceived the worms.

Lastly, we shall conclude with Mr. *Cromwell*, a shrewd enemy to this good man, and a great Agent in this businesse; a man in whose behalf the Archb shop of *Canterbury* thus writ ~~in his behalf~~ in his Letter to the King, after his troubles had beginning, *viz.* — *A man that was so advanced by your Majesty, whose surety was only by your Majesty, who loved your Majesty no lesse than God, who studied alwaies to set forward whatsoever was your Majesties will and pleasure, who cared for no mans displeasure to serve your Maiesties, who was such a servant, in my judgement, in wisdome, diligence, faithfulnesse, and experience, as no Prince in this Realm ever had the like, who was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived but he detected the same in the beginning; such*

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a man, that if the noble Princes of memory, King John, Henry *the second*, Richard *the second, had had such a Counceller about them, I suppose they should never have been so treacherously abandoned and overthrowne, as those good Princes were. Who shall your Grace trust hereafter, if you mistrust him? Alas, I bewaile and lament your Grace's chance herein, I wot not whom your Grace may trust, &c.*

And for this fidelity, ability, and good service, advanced successively to the dignities of the Master of the Rolls, Baron, Lord Privy Seale, Knight of the Garter, Earle of *Essex*, Lord high Chamberlaine of *England*, and higher than all this, Vicar generall of the Church of *ENGLAND*, by vertue of which Office he took place above them, who were Metropolitanes of all *England*, and yet notwithstanding he was arrested at the Councell table of high Treason by the Duke of *Norfolke*, when he least suspected any such designe, committed to the Tower, brought thence unto the Hill, and (without being permitted to plead for himselfe) there beheaded without any more adoe. But the strangest thing of all, is, that he that was

the Kings Vicegerent in ſpirituall cauſes ſhould be accuſed for an Heretique, and that made one of the cauſes of his death, and that that was ſuch a great enemy to the Catholiques (kicking downe all the Religious houſes of the Land, and grinded the Religious together with the rubbiſh under his feet) ſhould at his death openly profeſſe that he would die in the Catholick faith.

Thus we ſee Gods juſtice in the deſtruction of the Churches enemies; who knowes but that he may help her to ſuch friends, though not ſuch as may reſtore her her own Jewells, yet ſuch as may heale her of her Wounds? And who knowes but that it may be effected by the ſame name, ſithence the Almighty hath communicated ſo great a ſecret unto mortalls, as that there ſhould be ſuch a ſalve made known to them, whereby the ſame weapon that made the Wound, ſhould work the Cure?

Oliva Vera is not ſo hard to be conſtrued; *Oliverus*, as that it may not be believed, that a Prophet, rather than a Herauld, gave the Common Father of Chriſtendome, the now Pope of *Rome* (*Innocent* the tenth) ſuch Enſignes of his Nobility (*viz.* a dove holding

holding an Olive branch in her mouth) since it falls short in nothing of being both a Prophesie, and fulfilled, but onely his Highnesse running into her armes, whose Emblem of innocence beares him already in her mouth.

FINIS.